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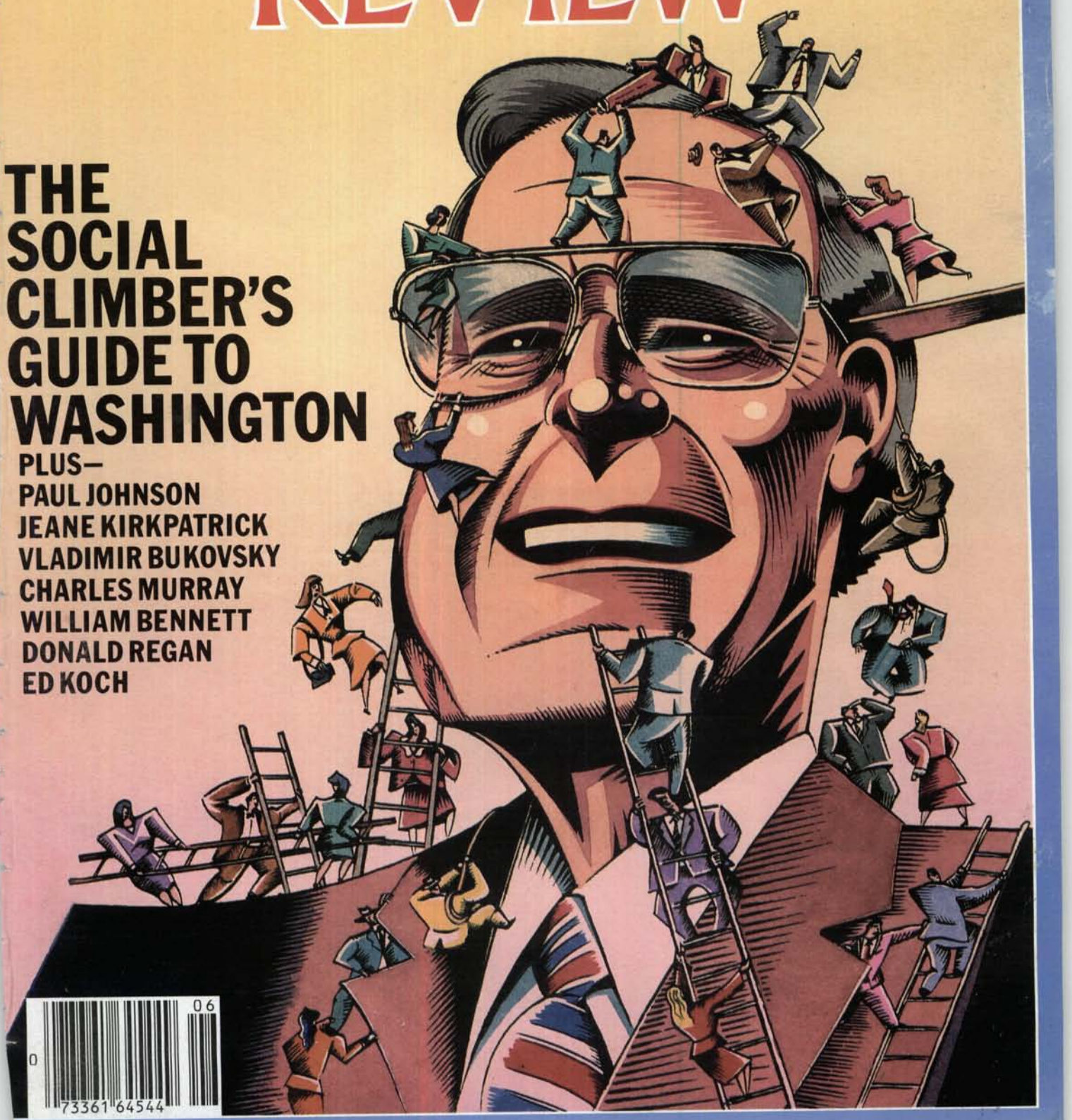
N YOU FORGIVE HIM?
Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

NATIONAL REVIEW



THE SOCIAL CLIMBER'S GUIDE TO WASHINGTON

PLUS—
PAUL JOHNSON
JEANE KIRKPATRICK
VLADIMIR BUKOVSKY
CHARLES MURRAY
WILLIAM BENNETT
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ED KOCH

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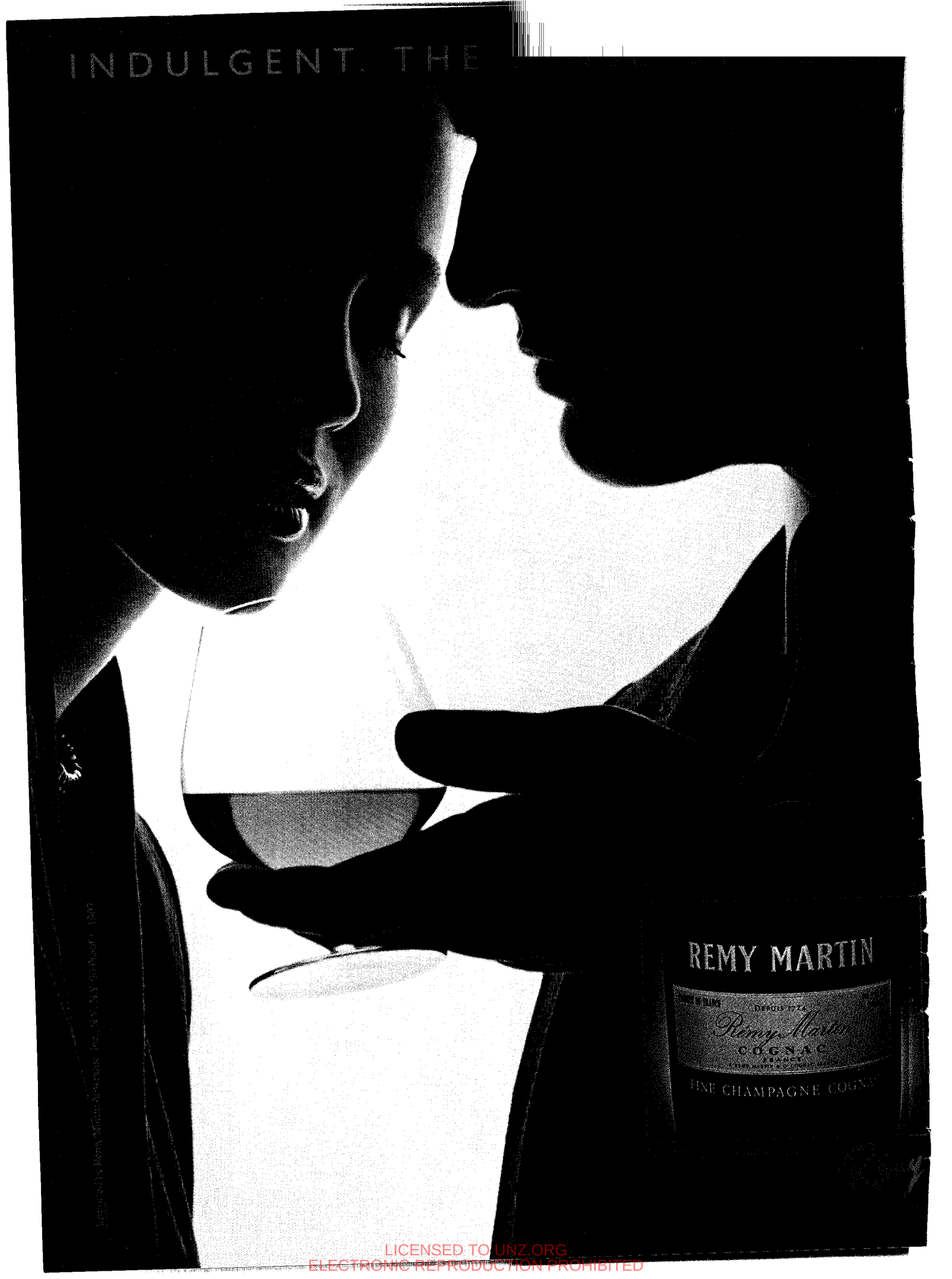

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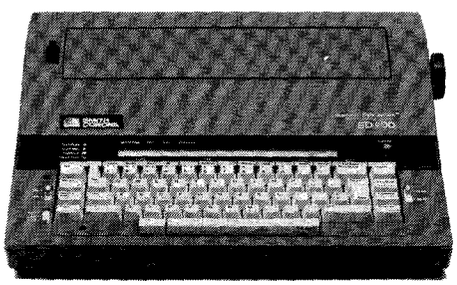

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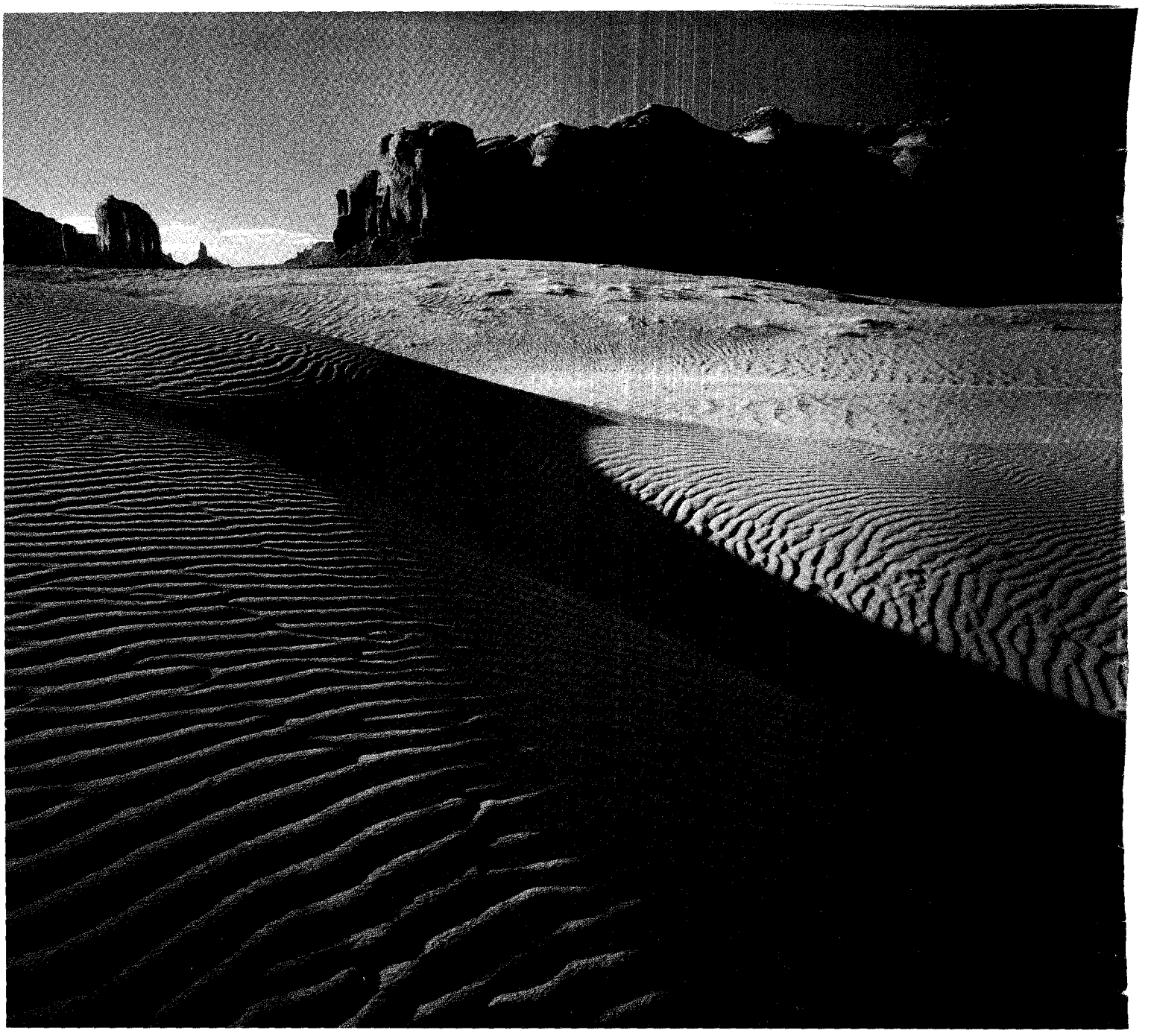

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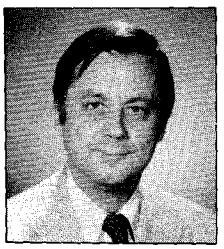
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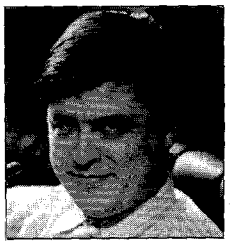
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SOCIAL CLIMBER'S GUIDE

30 The Reagan Revolution was brought to a halt by one of the most powerful weapons known to man: dinner parties. After eight years of diligent research by Reaganites and (or especially) former Reaganites, the essence of real power in the Capital can now be revealed. **Tom Bethell** unveils the mortal conflict between unofficial and official Washington, **Charlotte Hays** gives tips on how to dress in the Correct Issues for the Best Parties, **Marianne Szegedy-Maszak** cautions young women against the fate worse than death (ideology), and *The Nation*'s **Christopher Hitchens** gibbers and groans as the skeleton at the feast. The whole account is supplemented by a home version of the Washington Rollercoaster Game.

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There's a corpse on the football field, and it's not the single wing. *Jeffrey Hart*

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53 **Joseph Sobran** finds Taylor Branch's *Parting the Waters* an objective and fresh look at the Martin Luther King story (even if it did win the National Book Critics Circle Award). . . . **Jeffrey Hart** praises the research in Jane Mayer and Doyle McManus's *Landslide: The Unmaking of the President, 1984-1988*, but is underwhelmed by the argument that Iran-Contra peeled the Teflon off Reagan's tin. . . . Geoffrey Wagner illustrates the destructive intent and results of Communism as well as the fumbling self-doubt of the West in *Red Calypso: The Grenadian Revolution and Its Aftermath*; **Dennis J. O'Keeffe** finds his arguments unanswerable. . . . The literary essays in *The Sheep from the Goats* convince **Thomas Fleming** that this genre is John Simon's true calling. . . . In *The Fool's Progress*, Edward Abbey brings wild white trash and their rightful lands to full life; **Ed Marston** applauds. . . . **Ralph de Toledano** delights in Hoagy's *œuvre*, Benny's arabesques, Artie's show-stoppers, and more. . . . Holding his nose, **D. Keith Mano** accepts modified environmentalism.

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LETTERS

Reminiscing Bond Buyers

Thomas Malthus predicted in 1798 that starvation was the wave of the future. Ten years ago economists were saying that oil, if you could get it at all, would cost as much as $90 per barrel by now. But the economists queried in the January 27 issue of *NR* ["The Great Deficit Debate"] did not, for the most part, foresee economic Armageddon resulting from the huge budget deficits of the 1980s. That's a step forward for the usually dismal science.

It was reassuring to see economists of all ideological stripes acknowledge that debt becomes burdensome only when there isn't enough income to service that debt, and that is exactly the condition we'd find ourselves in if a tax increase were allowed to choke off the economic recovery.

I'd go the panelists one further and say that the 1980s will eventually be seen as a sort of golden age both for the economy and for investors, many of whom have done quite well investing in government bonds. But by the end of the century there may be a shortage of Treasury bonds owing to surpluses in the Social Security Trust Fund, accumulated to pay for the baby-boomers' retirement benefits. These surpluses will be invested in Treasuries, leaving fewer of these bonds for private investors. Meanwhile, as our population ages, the national personal-savings rate will rise. The combination of fewer bonds and greater savings should lower interest rates considerably. It is not at all unlikely that someday investors will nostalgically recall the days when thirty-year Treasuries were yielding more than 9 per cent interest.

Ed Rubenstein
New York, N.Y.

Unbearable Lightness of Lenny

It boggles the mind that John Ardoin, an otherwise discerning critic, could fall for the pious flatulence of Leonard Bernstein the Free-Thinking Intellectual ["Bernstein at Seventy," "Books, Arts, & Manners," Jan. 27]. This is of course the Leonard Bernstein, Black Panther enthusiast, of Tom Wolfe's "Radical Chic" [see "On the Right," same issue]. And the Leonard Bernstein whose recent *New York Times* Op-Ed piece ("I'm a Liberal and Proud of It") set a new record at a paper that has long outdone all others in its pursuit of copy by lightweight celebrity blowhards. (Bernstein wants to redefine the noun "liberal" to mean "a man or woman or child who looks forward to a better day, a more tranquil night, and a bright, infinite future. What can possibly be wrong with that?") Now Ardoin practically swoons as he pays tribute to "Bernstein the humanist," quoting at length from one of the great man's essays: "I believe in people. I feel, love and need, and respect people above all else. . . . One human figure on the slope of an Alp can make the Alp disappear for me. . . . I believe in the potential of people," etc., etc. Yes, and we are the world. We are the children, too. God save us, every one.

Jasper Higa
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Not on My Statehouse Lawn

Irving Kristol, as we well know, is a distinguished man of letters and, more importantly, a man of principle. Once again he has written a challenging and thought-provoking article ["Christmas, Christians, and Jews," Dec. 30] which merits a serious response.

To be sure, Kristol acknowledges that the United States "is not, constitutionally or traditionally, a Christian state but a fully secular state." Yet, apparently, it still comes as a shock to some people to discover that in the entire body of the U.S. Constitution there is no mention of Jesus, or even of God. These omissions, of course, were scarcely inadvertent. The Framers were painfully aware of church/state history in Europe as well as in the American colonies. Kristol claims, however, that the wall the liberals would like to erect between church and state is really a wall "between religion and society." There is indeed a difference; the First Amendment builds no "wall" between religion and society.

The constitutional principle of separation of church and state or, as I would prefer to define it, separation of religion and government, ought to mean that government should not "meddle" (in the word of John Adams) with religion, unless there is a religious need that cannot otherwise be met—for example, military chaplains for the armed forces. This principle ought to mean also that the state should not be doing for its citizens anything that, in their rightful free exercise

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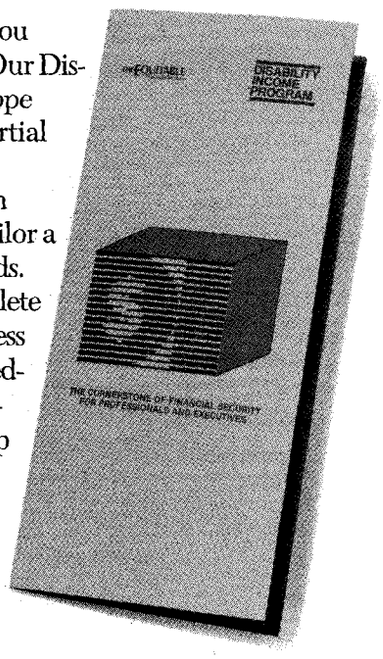

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of religion, they are perfectly capable of doing for themselves.

There is simply no religious need for the display of sacred symbols of any faith in or at government buildings. The symbol that belongs on a public firehouse, for example, is the American flag, not the cross. There is an abundance of private spaces readily available for the *public* display of sacred symbols—churches, synagogues, religious schools, private homes and lawns, and storefronts. That's why the American Jewish Committee recently filed a brief in the U.S. Supreme Court, together with the National Council of Churches and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, in support of a constitutional challenge to the display both of a crèche in the county courthouse and of a menorah on the steps of the city hall in Pittsburgh. Let thousands of crèches and menorahs bloom in our free American society, but, out of respect for constitutional principle, they need not and should not be displayed at the seats of government.

Samuel Rabinove
Legal Director
The American Jewish Committee
New York, N.Y.

Crèches, Crosses Everywhere

I admire and concur with the very sensible thoughts that Irving Kristol eloquently shared in his timely article, "Christmas, Christians, and Jews."

In the central event of the giving of the Law at Mount Sinai, Judaism recognizes the divinely inspired ethical imperative that our human family needs to be reminded of every day and in every generation: that it is commanded to strive to create peace on earth and to exemplify the spirit of goodwill toward all men and women. To persons like Mr. Kristol who stand very firmly on the intellectual foundation of enlightened Jewish faith, the crèches and the Christmas trees displayed in public places are indeed, for the majority American culture, lovely and deeply meaningful symbols of what from Sinai has become Western Civilization's moral and ethical imperative for society—an imperative mutually central to our sister religious faiths.

I therefore agree that those of my Jewish faith who persist in being perpetually threatened by these inanimate yet extremely moralistic ritual scenes and objects do appear to display that "lamentable ignorance of history, sociology, and psychology" that Mr. Kristol describes. Further, by doing so, they also seem to betray the traditional social and intellectual goals of the *Haskalah*—the modern Jewish Enlightenment—that in some cases they purport to represent.

Rabbi Laurence A. Schlesinger
Temple Israel
Columbus, Ga.

Nouveau Vulgaires

Well said, Mrs. Huffington ["Patron Saint of the Painted Word," Dec. 9]! Picasso's life and work—and those of the bankrupt orthodoxy who still ape him—were, and are, based on a metaphysical lie.

For decades, we have been expected to believe the canard that all that is required of art is that it be "new." (And, if at all possible, grotesque.) If it is not new, it is not art. Like Detroit's cars, it is created for consumption, disposable. Never mind fine draftsmanship, composition, technique—those little incidentals which, for thousands of years, have made what was new worth something when it became old.

Picasso used gullible art collectors as cynically as he used his mistresses. He wouldn't have argued the point. Why should we?

Margot S. Schulzke
Pastel Society of the West Coast
Auburn, Calif.

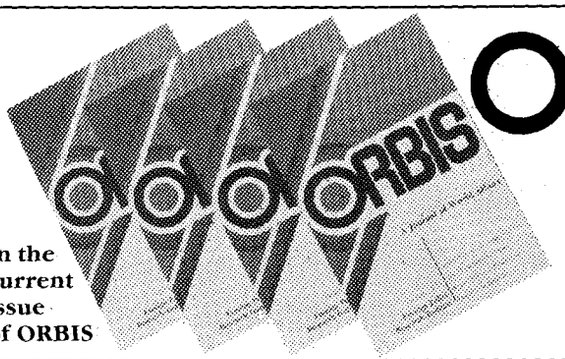
Throw Away the Condoms, Boys

It is only after (to paraphrase a comment of *NR*'s in another context) a panicky reconsultation of the mind and conscience that I admit to a disagreement with *NR*—specifically, with an item in "The Week" [Dec. 30] disagreeing with a New York court's decision stating that the state health commissioner did not have to label AIDS a sexually transmitted disease if he did not want to.

The difference between the AIDS epidemic and the syphilis and gonorrhea epidemics is not so much political as medical—i.e., penicillin. We trace the sexual contacts of those carrying venereal diseases because we can cure them. There is yet no cure for AIDS. The only rationale for tracing the contacts of HIV carriers, therefore, is to inhibit the sexual activity of those contacts. A worthy goal, but one the government is neither suited nor equipped to perform. Furthermore, there are risks to such actions: the risk of driving the epidemic underground and the risk of needless disruption of lives, because most contacts probably do not have the virus.

Let's take the classical conservative position: look at the states where AIDS is being treated as just another venereal disease. If it proves worth the time and money, then proceed accordingly.

Robert Morrell Jr.
Lewisville, N.C.



ORBIS
A Journal of World Affairs

In the current issue of ORBIS

Daniel Pipes
Editor

How does Moscow Vote in U.S. Presidential Elections? Jiri Valenta and John Cunningham look at eleven contests, 1948 to 1988, and conclude that Moscow likes moderate Republicans best.

Have Americans Changed Their Minds About Israel? Using public opinion polls, Eytan Gilboa shows that the Palestinian uprising has hardly made a dent.

Ferdinand Marcos Answers His Critics. In the first detailed account, former President Marcos of the Philippines defends his term in office and reflects on why he lost power.

The Decimation of a People. The results of a Gallup demographic survey show the huge impact of the Soviet invasion on the Afghan people.

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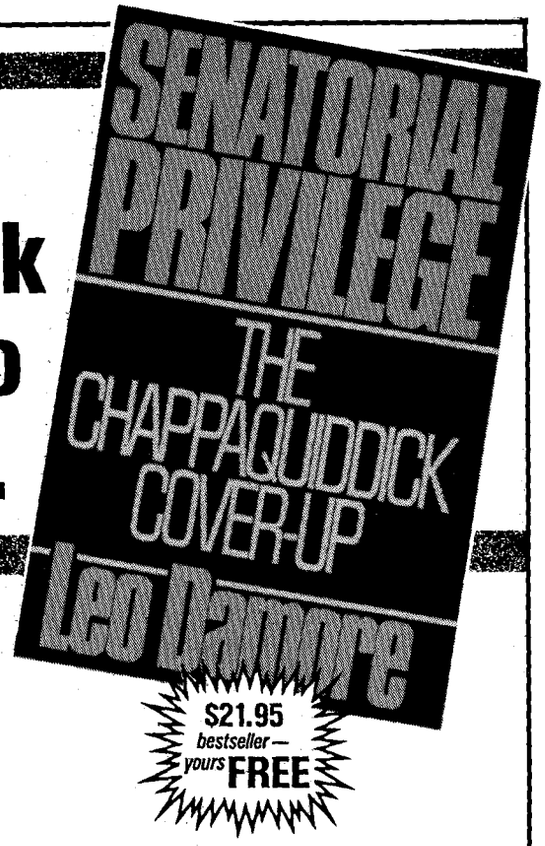
Despite a media brownout, this book fought its way onto the bestseller lists.



And when you read what it reveals about Teddy and Chappaquiddick, you'll see why.

Ray Kerrison explains it all in his *New York Post* column:

"The biggest surprise — and scandal — of the publishing season is the public's extraordinary demand for a book exposing Sen. Edward Kennedy's fatal escapade at Chappaquiddick, despite a review blackout by the nation's media giants.

This book is titled *Senatorial Privilege: The Chappaquiddick Cover-Up* (Regnery Gateway, $21.95). Written by Leo Damore, it made the *New York Times* non-fiction best-seller list yesterday for the eighth straight week.

Yet the . . . *Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, Boston Globe, Time* and *Newsweek* have all boycotted it.

The media blackout is all the more suspicious because Damore's account is a meticulous examination of what happened at the bridge and the aftermath. It was written with the cooperation of Joseph Gargan, a Kennedy cousin, who was involved in the nightmare. . . .

Damore's book leaves no doubt that: a) Kennedy left the party for a romantic interlude; b) he was drunk; c) he drove off the bridge at considerable speed; and d) his license had expired five months earlier.

It discloses how Ted Sorenson, President John F. Kennedy's speechwriter, drafted Sen. Kennedy's fictitious explanation of the tragedy for a national TV audience."

People Magazine shares the enthusiasm:

"An achievement of reportorial diligence, this book tells a story that the most imaginative crime novelist would have been hard put to invent. It is a tale of death, intrigue, obstruction of justice, corruption and politics. It is also one view of why Sen. Edward M. Kennedy was never indicted in connection with Mary Jo Kopechne's death . . . readers will find it hard to put down."

Adds the **Wall Street Journal**:

"Absorbing and definitive account . . . Damore . . . is a disciplined and relentless writer who makes his case more devastating because he never steps back and editorializes. Each falsehood, blunder and evasion is in tight focus. . ."

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FOR THE RECORD

REPORT CARD: **Stuart Eizenstat**, **Jimmy Carter**'s domestic-policy advisor, says "**Reagan**'s tenure has strengthened the prestige of the office [of President]." . . . Carter biographer **Betty Glad** believes Reagan "will be seen as a remarkable President. He showed that the Presidency could be used to shape the national agenda." . . . Historian **James MacGregor Burns**: "Reagan will be remembered for making the Republican Party into a coherent, pragmatic, ideologically conservative party." . . . Historian **Arthur Schlesinger Jr.**, a **JFK** White House aide, says Reagan's successes "have restored a certain amount of confidence to the Presidency." . . . Scholar emeritus **James Sundquist** of Brookings: "We were headed in the direction of the welfare state, and all Republicans could do before was to slow the trend. Reagan halted it." . . . *Washington Post* columnist **David Broder** faults Reagan for his civil-rights record ("He was deaf to calls for justice"), but praises him for shifting the initiative and responsibility for domestic programs out of Washington and back to the states and cities. . . . **Mary McGrory**'s knife remained unsheathed to the end: "In his eight years of office, he has taken actions that suggest that if he is not a bigot, he might as well have been one as far as blacks were concerned." . . . Former UN Ambassador **Jeane Kirkpatrick** put her finger on reason for media hostility to Reagan: "Most commentators resent Reagan's unflappable calm, unshakable optimism, irrepressible good humor, and his stubborn failure to understand that he was never up to the job."

In 1981, when Reagan took office, a **Gallup** satisfied/dissatisfied poll indicated 78 per cent of Americans dissatisfied with the way things were going; Reagan leaves office with a 58 per cent satisfied count. . . . *New York Times* poll Inauguration week

Matt, *London Daily Telegraph* / Rothco

"Go straight to Siberia."

gives Reagan a 68 per cent favorable exit rating, the highest for any President since **FDR**, who died in office. . . . Incidental intelligence: Reagan contributed only 78 of the 2,408 vetoes run up by the first forty U.S. Presidents. FDR was all-time veto king with 635, followed by **Grover Cleveland** with 414. **George Washington** vetoed only two measures, and his two immediate successors, **John Adams** and **Thomas Jefferson**, vetoed none. More recent presidential veto counts: JFK 21; **LBJ** 30; **Nixon** 43; **Ford** 66 (in three years); Carter thirty-one.

Christian Science Monitor's regular political analyst, **Everett Carll Ladd** of the **Roper** organization, says **George Bush** team "looks remarkably like the Reagan choice on the Right-Left spectrum." He adds, "If the common argument that Bush's Cabinet differs ideologically from Reagan's is wrong, that may well be because the premise that underlies it—that Bush differs significantly from Reagan in basic philosophy—is itself in error." . . . *Washington Post* mid-January poll came up with alarming finding that 78 per cent of respondents couldn't identify a *single* Bush Cabinet member; only 10 per cent could identify Secretary of State **James Baker**, and only 3 per cent Attorney General **Richard Thornburgh**. Notwithstanding which, 44 per cent of those questioned pronounced Bush's choices good-to-excellent, and 39 per cent just fair-to-poor.

Final gesture: At the East-West conference in Vienna, outgoing Secretary of State **George Shultz** called on the Soviet Union and East Germany to tear down the Berlin Wall, calling it "an acid test" of the human-rights issue. . . . Former U.S. Ambassador to Moscow **Arthur Hartman**, at earlier conference in Paris, remarked that tensions between the U.S. and the USSR could end only after the Soviets free Eastern Europe. . . . Soviet dissidents were by and large critical of the U.S. decision to attend a human-rights conference in Moscow in 1991. Says writer **Sergei Grigoryants**: "Right now the situation with human rights is getting worse." But **Yelena Bonner**, **Andrei Sakharov**'s wife, is less worried: "If I understand the decision correctly, that the United States is reserving the right to watch whether progress continues over the next two years, then I think it's a proper decision." . . . Cuban dissident and former **Castro** prisoner **Armando Valladares**, who served as U.S. delegate to last year's Human Rights Commission in Geneva, claims there are ten thousand political prisoners in Castro's two hundred jails and concentration camps, not 225 as Castro claims.

Attention, conservative journalists: Application deadline for **Publius** Fellows six-week (June 26 to August 4) summer course in political journalism for college seniors and graduate students is March 15. Fellows receive $2,000 plus up to $500 in travel expenses, and free lodging. The sponsor is Public Research, Syndicated, the journalistic arm of the Claremont Institute, 4650 Arrow Highway, Suite D-6, Montclair, Calif. 91763.

Too little and surely too late: The Soviet puppet **Najibullah** regime in Kabul has announced the adoption of free-market economic policies and has changed the name of the party newspaper from *Truth of the April Revolution* to *The Message*.

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THE WEEK

☐ Our patience with George Bush is not quite exhausted.

☐ Michael Dukakis has the Bay State Blues. Last November, less than 12 hours after conceding to George Bush, Dukakis sat in his office desperately attempting to number-crunch the Massachusetts budget to cosmetic health. But even that was too tall an order, and he ended up, a week ago, asking his state legislature for a $730-million tax increase. That's on top of the $300-million increase last year, after his hog-wild spending turned a $912-million surplus (as of 1987) into a $630-million deficit. Dukakis has created more debt in the past six years than all his predecessors combined. Since 1983, Massachusetts state spending has risen 65 per cent, a growth rate four times that of the federal budget, and twice that of the average state. Such competence came easily to the governor—he hired ten thousand new employees while ninety thousand manufacturing jobs fled the state (many of them to Governor Sununu's low-tax New Hampshire). The Massachusetts Miracle was really the Massachusetts Mirage. No wonder he's not running for re-election.

☐ Bernhard Goetz, the subway gunman, has been sentenced to a year in prison for possession of an unlicensed gun. What a case. It's arguable that Goetz should have gotten a much stiffer sentence on grounds of justice, since he left Darrell Cabey paralyzed and brain-damaged. But you can only shake your head over an argument like the one advanced by the *New York Daily News*: "He should serve the full year. Anything less would send a terrible signal through New York and across the nation: Vigilantism is back in style. . . . If that idea ever catches on, no one is safe." As a glance at any edition of the *Daily News* will confirm, no one in New York is safe *now*. Goetz will be eligible for parole in two months, and we'll bet a .45 and two bandoleros that springing him early won't set off a new wave of self-defense. Alas.

☐ What happens after *Roe* v. *Wade* is reversed, which Attorney General Richard Thornburgh has said he expects to happen this year? The Supreme Court has agreed to hear a case arising from a Missouri law restricting access to abortion. If the Court reverses or even narrows *Roe*, it throws the issue back to the states, signaling activists throughout the nation that they can now fight the issue in local elections. A good sign: the pro-abortion crowd is worried. According to the tally of former NOW president Eleanor Smeal, only five states (Alaska, Hawaii, Oregon, Vermont, and Washington) are safely pro-abortion, with more than a dozen solidly against. "Everything else," says Mrs. Smeal, "is a battle zone." At present, state legislative races are even less ideological than congressional ones, a factor that favors Democrats and thus helps in gerrymandering. A *Roe* reversal would be sure to change this—just in time for the 1991 congressional redistricting. In addition to being right.

☐ The Soviets were supposed, by friend and foe alike, to have an extensive civil-defense system. That, plus the putative short-term ability of central planning to concentrate resources where most needed, should have softened the blow of the Armenian earthquake disaster and provided immediate relief to victims. Instead, Soviet folly and disorganization *added* to the natural disaster. Airplanes crashed into each other on runways. Foreign assistance was sent to the wrong areas. And all of the Soviet Union could not supply enough cranes for effective rescue and reconstruction. All this while *Nightline* was managing to transmit a live broadcast on the relief effort across the ocean to its American viewers. The Armenian earthquake has provided us with a unique glimpse into the real workings of Soviet society. What we see is the traditional lassitude and incompetence of Russia made worse by the

At the Emperor's Funeral

The President will go, of course;
And though in Britain vets grow hoarse
Lambasting Hirohito, they'll
Be sending Philip, who will hail
The future as the past recedes,
Responding to financial needs,
Which, overriding boos and squawks,
Affirm the fact that money talks.

W. H. von Dreele

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

REMEMBER ALL that talk about tough choices ahead for the Defense Department in a new era of fiscal austerity? Well, it isn't going to happen. Though the screws may tighten, Pentagon planners have no intention of abandoning any major weapons system that they have their hearts set on. These planners—experienced bureaucrats who are much cleverer than the press thinks—have been preparing for a fiscal crunch for some time now. The crunch arrived in the closing months of the Reagan Administration, with orders to cut $300 billion from the Pentagon's five-year budget projection.

The Pentagon has now unveiled the first half of its plan for doing so, according to which total Defense Department spending for the fiscal years 1990 through 1994 will weigh in at about $1.7 trillion, roughly $260 billion less than the Pentagon's last five-year plan, drawn up in 1987. Remarkably, Pentagon planners have found a way to effect savings of that magnitude with hardly a trace of real sacrifice.

Defenders of high defense expenditures have claimed for years that the Pentagon would have to slice whole weapons systems out of its arsenal to make significant budget cuts. And indeed, the new five-year plan has eliminated some 12 programs, though most of them, like the "Army Tug Program" and something called a "Low-Cost Sonobuoy," are small change.

But look where the rest of the money comes from. Some $32 billion of cuts will be taken from what the Pentagon delicately refers to as "higher military active and reserve end-strength assumptions." In other words, the armed services will give up on plans to grow larger over the next few years.

Continuing down the tally sheet, the Pentagon plans to save $27 billion by scaling back pay expectations, proposing a 3.6 per cent pay raise for fiscal 1990 instead of the 4.6 per cent raise originally scheduled. Another $50 billion will come from something called "other procurement"—basically the purchase of everyday items from food to paper clips to artillery shells.

The final $50 billion of that first half does consist of cuts in weapons production and research programs. For example, Pentagon officials have suggested nixing the small ICBM, better known as Midgetman. Of course, the Pentagon has never been that wild about Midgetman, considering this one-warhead missile to be less cost-effective than the ten-warhead MX. The Navy also dumped plans to up-grade the twenty-year-old A-6 bomber, figuring the money would be better spent developing the next-generation attack plane, the Advanced Tactical Fighter.

But the rest of the $50 billion will come from a popular Pentagon tactic called the "stretch-out"—slowing the rate by which weapons systems are produced. This spreads the cost of building a particular weapon over a greater number of years, thereby lowering the per-year cost of that weapon (although, it must be admitted, driving up its long-term cost).

The Pentagon has yet to say where the balance of the $300 billion will come from, but one experienced Pentagon analyst says it will be taken mostly from the "operations and maintenance" budget that keeps the military supplied with brooms and bullets. And really, that's not such a bad idea.

What it amounts to is that the Defense Department is bucking the advice of would-be reformers on Capitol Hill and elsewhere, and squeezing items that affect the military's readiness to fight a war now rather than mothballing weapons systems that may be vital to the nation's security in the future. Bullets, after all, can be procured overnight; a destroyer takes years to build. With Soviet retrenchment, furthermore, the near future does not look particularly threatening—and if hostilities do ever become imminent, it will be easy to win congressional approval for all the brooms and ammunition we need.

Still, in an age of increasing budget-consciousness, the Pentagon may well have to make genuine cuts somewhere down the line. This could necessitate re-examination of U.S. commitments around the world—including our expensive European bases. But such issues are probably better addressed by politicians than generals anyway. Meanwhile, the professionals at the Pentagon are aptly using every trick in the book to ensure that our medium-term security needs are met. —CATO

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economic perversity of Communism—even in an activity where theorists might reasonably expect superior performance from the state.

☐ Soviet publicists and officials are accustomed to pointing to Northern Ireland as a prime and always vivid example of a denial of civil rights and of a nation repressed by reaction. But John Lloyd, who wrote from Armenia in our last issue, tells us that the Armenian-Azeri dispute has made the more conscientious among the Soviet publicists think again. One even voiced his thoughts on Moscow television, calling for the need to reassess the Irish question in the light of Karabakh, the ethnically Armenian enclave in Azerbaidzhan. The difference between Northern Ireland's constitutional position and that of Karabakh is that in the former case, the population has been tested in elections, polls, and referenda, and found to wish to stay part of the United Kingdom by a majority of never less than 60 per cent. No one has yet asked the Karabakhers; and perhaps, because of the implications from Estonia to Georgia, no one will. But is it not an obvious route out of the Caucasian iron circle?

☐ SYMBOLIC IMPORTANCE DEPT.: Radio Liberty broadcasts to the constituent republics of the Soviet Union. Radio Free Europe broadcasts to the Soviets' Eastern European satellites. It was consequently cause for great rejoicing in the captive Baltic Republics, which are technically constituent republics of the USSR, when a year ago broadcasts to Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia were transferred from Radio Liberty to RFE.

☐ STOP-PRESS ITEM: The official Soviet newspaper *Izvestia* is now accepting ads. Yes, that's right, paid ads. Testing this new *glasnost*, the Free Congress

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Foundation is inserting an ad for the book *Cultural Conservatism*. Will *Izvestia* take the ad? Will the Russkies rush while copies still last? Stay tuned.

☐ The United States Senate has installed mahogany "modesty" railings, and for only $6,398, so that televiewers of Senate proceedings do not have to look at the legs of senators and their aides. Dr. Bowdler, call the *Congressional Record*.

☐ It is reported that the United States Congress sends out 12,000 pieces of mail for every piece it receives. Why so many people write back is beyond us.

Wouldn't It Be Wonderful?

As Mr. Bush's term unfolds,
How pleasant it would be
To laud his every action as
He governs masterly,
But those who please at five o'clock
Are often bores by ten,
Which leads me to reflect before
I sheathe my poisoned pen.

W. H. VON DREELE

Farewell and Hail

THE VICISSITUDES undergone by presidential reputations is remarkable. Harry Truman left office in near disgrace over corruption, Korea, and Hiss, but his stock has risen steadily. FDR was all but worshipped by many, yet the economic failure of the New Deal, the loss of Eastern Europe, and a general sense of his deceptiveness have taken their toll. Our only four-term President has no monument in Washington. Dwight Eisenhower, in contrast, has been moved steadily upward by such historians as Princeton's Fred Greenstein. John F. Kennedy appears headed downward. No one can do anything for Lyndon Johnson.

Academic and media types are already passing the judgment of history on Ronald Reagan: mediocre, inattentive, superficial, and so forth. It is unlikely that the passage of time will confirm any such judgment.

Mr. Reagan came to the Presidency with several large and perfectly clear ideas: cut taxes, end inflation, rebuild our defenses, deal with the Soviets from strength, deregulate, curb judicial activism, restore the prestige of patriotism and traditional moral values. More's still to do, but Ronald Reagan did much on all of these fronts.

We are unable ourselves to consult History (though others seem to have that 800 number), but we guess that Mr. Reagan will fare very well indeed.

Meanwhile, *tout* Washington is buzzing over the New Era—hunting and fishing instead of wood-chopping and horse-riding; fake pearls instead of Adolfo dresses; extended families instead of estranged children.

The newest thing about it is that the buzzing is positive. For the first time in eight years, the press and society in the nation's capital have some Republicans they feel good about. This should last about two more weeks. We don't want to diminish the pleasure the Bushmen may be taking in their newfound popularity, but we suggest that they not get used to it.

Beneath the Style-section chat lies the main hope of the permanent establishment: that instead of right-wing true believers who go to sleep dreaming of tax cuts and creationism, we finally have "conservatives" who know how to behave (i.e., roll over and play dead). The hope implies a threat: if the Bushmen do not roll over and play dead, they will get the same treatment that was meted out to Meese, Watt, North, et al.

No one would mistake George Bush's preferred rhetorical mode for Ronald Reagan's. His Cabinet, however, might well be mistaken for a Reagan model. At any one time in the Reagan Administration, there was always a handful of ideologically radioactive figures in high places. The Bush team has them too: Chief of Staff John Sununu; Secretary of HUD Jack Kemp; Director of National Drug Policy William Bennett (see "Bennett's Bad Job," p. 14). Most of the first string, however, are mainstream Republican types —even as they were under Reagan. (Who now remembers Terrel Bell?)

But the radioactivity remains; and the Republican mainstream itself has been nudged to the right (thirty years ago, the Republican administrative class was mostly liberal). That is why those who are, for the moment, so fond of the New Era will soon be complaining that it is the Same Old Thing.

Reagan and Historical Memory

RATHER THAN give a single "farewell address," President Reagan has made several symbolic farewell appearances, including an especially moving one before military personnel to celebrate the renewed emphasis on international stability through military preparedness. But his final televised remarks from the Oval Office should reverberate for a long time in the American mind. The President defined very directly an enormous American—and Western—problem. This is more important than AIDS, the ozone layer, or Communism in the fetid jungles of Central America. He spoke eloquently about a deliberate lobotomy of the American historical memory. We are begin- →

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Do We Really Need a Space-Based Defense?

THE FRAGILITY of a ballistic missile is not widely appreciated. The Soviet SS-18—the largest ICBM in the world—weighs two hundred tons and stands as tall as a ten-story building, but its aluminum skin is no thicker than cardboard. In fact, the SS-18 is, relatively speaking, as fragile as an eggshell; for both SS-18s and eggs, the ratio of the weight of the container loaded to its weight empty is about 10 to 1.

The structure of an ICBM has every possible ounce shaved from it so that it can reach the enormous speeds that will carry its warheads across thousands of miles. If the skin of an SS-18 were thickened by an extra tenth of an inch, roughly four tons would have to be eliminated from the missile's payload to make up for the extra weight. Four tons is equal to the total weight of the ten warheads carried by the SS-18. If SS-18s were strengthened in this way, they could not carry any warheads and would be of little use.

The flimsy construction of an ICBM explains why these giant rockets are so vulnerable to destruction. A bit of metal not much larger than a slingshot pellet, hitting an SS-18 at a typical missile-defense speed of six miles a second, will create a large and fatal rupture in its skin.

That is one of the main reasons why a simple collision with a fast-moving fragment of metal has become the Defense Department's favored weapon for the space-based part of Strategic Defense System 1 (SDS 1), the initial American missile defense. The lasers and particle beams of "Star Wars" fame promise to be effective, but they are not as far along as simple hit-to-kill weapons.

High-velocity pellets—an upgraded slingshot technology—pack enough wallop to be lethal, have been tested in space, and appear to have nothing standing in the way of their deployment some time in the 1990s. Missile-defense experts call them kinetic-energy weapons, or sometimes "smart rocks." Smart rocks are slugs of metal with infrared eyes to see the Soviet ICBMs and computer brains to steer the "rocks" into them. The rocks destroy the ICBMs by the force of the impact, generally without any explosives. They depend on technologies that are not very different from the technologies of air defense, already developed to a high degree of perfection in the Stinger and Sidewinder.

The plan for using smart rocks in SDS 1 calls for two layers of rocks—one on the ground in the U.S., and the other in space, on satellites orbiting over the Soviet Union. The smart rocks on the ground are fired upward to destroy Soviet nuclear warheads as they descend toward their targets in the United States. That was the system the U.S. started to put together in the 1960s, before the ABM treaty, and then discarded—except that the rocks were dumb at that time. They made up for their lack of brainpower by carrying nuclear weapons whose destructive power was great enough to disable a warhead even if the rock missed it by a mile.

SMART ROCKS fired from the ground are also the defense envisioned for ALPS—the Accidental-Launch Protection System proposed by Senator Nunn to protect the U.S. against accidental Soviet launches and against missile attacks by Third World fanatics. The trouble with all ground-based defenses, including ALPS, is that they are readily overwhelmed by heavy attacks that would use up our defending smart rocks. That is, the Soviets could throw enough warheads at a particularly important site to exhaust the available supply of smart rocks at that site. If the U.S. protects a key site with ten smart rocks, the USSR only has to allot 11 or 12 warheads to its destruction to be confident of success.

Even if the U.S. puts so many smart rocks around key sites that using them up becomes a daunting task for the Soviets, they can still count on penetrating these heavy ground-based defenses with a "structured attack"—a carefully timed sequence of nuclear explosions that go off one after the other, to clear a path to the target. Structured attacks are lethal to any missile defense located on the ground—at least, any defense in prospect for the next ten years.

"Laddering down" is a nice example of a structured attack. Laddering down means exploding a string of nuclear warheads over a target, each at a lower altitude than the previous one. The first explosion, at the top of the "ladder," creates a fireball that blinds the radar "eyes" that have been tracking the warheads. The fireball could also temporarily blind the infrared eyes on our smart rocks.

With the eyes of the defense blinded, the way is cleared for the second warhead. That warhead descends through the first fireball and explodes at a lower altitude, creating another fireball that clears the way for the third warhead, which is coming right behind it.

By the time the third or fourth warhead explodes,

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the ladder has reached the ground and the target is destroyed. Laddering down gives Soviet military planners the capability of destroying any vital site in the U.S., no matter how many ground-based smart rocks have been allotted to its defense.

The vital sites the Soviet planners would target first in a structured attack would be the two hundred or so key points in our command, control, and communications network, which would take in data on the Soviet attack from U.S. satellites and send out orders from civilian and military commanders to fire nuclear weapons in retaliation.

The majority of these sites are in fixed locations and highly vulnerable. Defense planners have been working at making some of the command centers mobile, as a backup to the fixed sites. In fact, they have spent nearly $20 billion on that and related projects in the last eight years. The authorities tend to be prickly about criticism of this effort—how much it has cost, how long it is taking, and how good the fix is. However, most objective opinion outside the Defense Department says that if these mobile command posts were all that remained after a Soviet attack, the U.S. command network would be fragile at best. Destroy the key fixed sites, and our ability to retaliate against a nuclear attack will be crippled.

Take the satellite data-reception and control center at Sunnyvale, California—a conspicuous blue building known as the "Blue Cube." It is one of the main ground stations for U.S. reconnaissance and early-warning satellites, which would receive the first word of a Soviet nuclear attack from our space warning network. The Blue Cube is a few miles from the Pacific coast, and Soviet missiles launched from a submarine lurking offshore could reach it in a matter of minutes. It is also only a hundred yards from the freeway, and the dishes it uses to talk to our satellites are even closer. A van packed with explosives, parked on the shoulder of the freeway and detonated by radio, would almost surely put it out of business.

The vulnerability of the U.S. command network has undermined the credibility of our nuclear deterrent —the forces designed to prevent an attack on America by the threat of massive retaliation. That chilling fact constitutes the most important shift in the nuclear balance of the superpowers in the last 15 years. Soviet planners do not have to count on destroying our nuclear weapons to prevent a devastating retaliation; they do not have to dig out all our missile silos and hunt down our submarines and mobile Midgetmen; they have only to be confident of their ability to knock out control centers and communication links like Sunnyvale. They can feel a high degree of confidence in that ability today because they have more than six thousand accurate nuclear warheads available for structured attacks on this handful of key targets.

Smart rocks in space would deprive the Soviet planner of this confidence. They would restore the credibility of the U.S. deterrent. Why is this? Because smart rocks launched over the USSR would break up the structure of the Soviet attack by hitting the Soviet missiles near the beginning of their flight, before they have deployed their warheads.

In a laddering-down attack, for example, a ladder leading down to an important target can lose a rung if the space-based defense takes out the missile that was carrying the warhead intended for that rung. With even a single rung missing, the ladder is useless. Since the Soviet planners can't tell beforehand which ladders will have rungs eliminated, they cannot count on clearing a path to any target, no matter how vital its destruction is to their attack plan. That is why smart rocks in space are the key to an effective defense.

SOME EXPERTS believe that ground-based smart rocks alone are good enough for a start on a missile defense, without waiting for the space-based layer. Let's go now with a ground-based system, they say, and add the space defense later. The ground-based smart rocks will give us experience in setting up a system, and restore the credibility of the U.S. deterrent by protecting our command centers.

Unfortunately, the space-based defenses are essential: the ground-based defenses need their help in breaking up the nicely timed sequences of nuclear explosions that constitute a structured attack. On the other hand, space-based smart rocks by themselves can't concentrate on defending particular sites in the U.S., like the vital command and control centers. When they take out a Soviet ICBM, they can't tell what targets the ICBM's warheads were aimed at. Ground-based smart rocks hit the Soviet warheads late in their flight, when it is obvious which target each warhead is headed for. These ground-based defenses are needed for that concentrated defense of command posts and other sites vital to our retaliatory power.

But a layer of smart rocks in space and another layer on the ground make a very effective combination, because the two layers have complementary properties. The layer in space is broadly based and random, to break up structured attacks; the layer on the ground is focused, to protect individual sites of particular importance.

Both are necessary. Neither layer works well without the other. That is why both layers were included in Strategic Defense System 1, the first American missile-defense system in two decades to be approved for development and possible deployment. □

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→ ning to be aware of this moral self-mutilation. It looms now even in the American popular consciousness, like Auden's famous corpse on the tennis court.

"If we forget what we did," said the President, "we won't know who we are. I am warning of an eradication of . . . the American memory that could result, ultimately, in an erosion of the American spirit."

Alas, the President's word "ultimately" is wildly optimistic. The American memory has been erased very largely in our schools and universities and even in our oral traditions. As the philosopher Sidney Hook asked in Washington a few years ago in a memorable Jefferson Award address, what student today is taught much at all about the intellectual foundations of freedom, or about the fallible but heroic souls who embodied them? Try asking a high-school or university student today for some idea, any idea, of the thought or importance of Thucydides, Livy, Montesquieu, Locke—or something, anything, about John Winthrop, William Penn, Anne Hutchinson, James Madison, Andrew Jackson, David Farragut, Ulysses Grant, and the whole host of heroic characters who put their lives into creating the longest-running republic in the history of mankind.

All of this is being erased. And it is being erased not in a fit of absent-mindedness, but upon a deeply felt moral principle. The principle is the religion of "mankind," the dogma that no "culture" has superior achievements, and that cannibals and kings, Pericles and Xerxes, are equals after all. This religion of mankind has been gestating for a long time, and it has received a powerful impetus through the advent of nuclear weapons.

The recent popularity of important books by Allan Bloom and E. D. Hirsch about cultural, historical, and philosophical illiteracy represents a widespread uneasiness—but no more than uneasiness—about the lobotomy that has already been thoroughly accomplished.

The President was right when he said that the revival of American and Western patriotism that he and leaders like Margaret Thatcher have helped to create "won't count for much and it won't last" unless Americans learn more about the history and ideals of Western freedom.

In his own distinctive way, President Reagan is strangely deep. He has been a part, in our own time, of the thought as well as the heroic effort that sustains freedom. We thank him and wish him well.

Bennett's Bad Job

WILLIAM BENNETT, who served as chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities and as Secretary of Education under Ronald Reagan, will resume high office in the Bush Administration as National Drug Policy Director, or "drug czar," as the press calls it. [The selection was made, by the way, after Mr. Bennett's advice to the President in this issue had been committed to print.]

At the Education Department, Bennett made headlines by launching rhetorical and intellectual first strikes. He urged educators, instead of stretching open palms to Washington, to think of homework, discipline, and basics. In his crusade for a core curriculum and cultural normalcy, he made Aristotle a fighting word.

Tackling the drug problem is bound to be a more difficult task. For starters, Bennett's talent for focusing attention becomes redundant. The drug problem is already the most covered issue of recent months, right up there with global warming and the homeless. An issue that elicits from Jesse Jackson the judgment that it is our most pressing foreign-policy concern, while from George Bush it draws the pledge to impose capital punishment on its profiteers, is hardly undernoticed.

Perhaps Bennett can find fresh solutions to highlight, although, as we have suggested in the past, the most plausible remedies are highly problematical politically. The United States could wage what amounts to war on the drug producers and traffickers of Colombia and Bolivia, though given our response to the new Soviet client in Central America, that seems unlikely. The Federal Government could impose Draconian penalties not just on "kingpins," but on all sellers—and on consumers. Malaysia executes heroin smugglers, and has much less of a heroin problem in consequence. Sending a few coke-snorting arbitrageurs for a long vacation in Attica would no doubt concentrate many minds. But America backed off that path during the Seventies. Legalization—the solution to our last experiment with Prohibition—is another serious option, but the cultural complexion of the GOP no doubt makes that, too, a non-starter.

The basic problem is the erosion, not of the willingness to just say no, but of the conviction that saying yes is self-indulgent, subhuman, and—an unfashionable word—immoral. Enlightened English clergymen, said Dr. Johnson, preached against drunkenness for clouding the noble faculty of reason. Scottish ministers told the drunk he would die in a ditch and go to Hell. America, in these terms, badly needs Scotsmen. A tall order for a "drug czar."

Conservatives will watch Bennett with attention. With the passing of Ronald Reagan from the Washington scene, the political leadership of the movement has decrystallized. Instead of one commanding figure, there is a field full of folk. Jack Kemp, a force for ten years, obviously remains one. Pete du Pont and Pat Robertson have not run for President for the last time. Other faces—Don Hodel, Alan Keyes, Newt Gingrich—press forward. Members of an Administration have a way of playing musical chairs, and Bill Bennett is clearly a top-of-the-line player. With Jesse Helms's possible retirement, a Senate seat in Bennett's

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home state might open up in 1990. Conservatives will be watching carefully to see what good he can make of a bad job.

Budget Poker

REACTIONS TO President Reagan's final budget were so predictable they might have been pulled from the newspapers of last January, or the January before, or the January before that. No matter how brilliant the ideas for saving taxpayers a few dollars, each budget has been described as "dead on arrival." Before he could possibly have glanced through the new budget, for example, Senator George Mitchell was on television calling it "irrelevant . . . another amiable fiction." This annual ritual saves both Congress and the press a lot of reading time, which they can devote to more important items like Stephen King novels and *Washington Post* gossip columns. Each budget is also automatically attacked for presenting a "rosy scenario," even though economic growth in the past year was, once again, twice as rapid as the pundits expected. It is revealing that the press had no similar skepticism about President Carter's 1979 budget, which forecast that real GNP would grow by 4.9 per cent a year from 1979 through 1983.

The revenue from individual income tax is expected to increase by another 10 per cent in 1990 and, like the revenue from Social Security taxes, will have about doubled over the decade. Such enormous revenue gains have far outstripped inflation, providing the government with a huge 41 per cent increase in real purchasing power since 1983. This record increase in tax receipts is, we hear, not enough. Never enough. But there are limits to what people can and will pay for government, and this country has already had one revolution over the voters' right to make this decision.

It would be unreasonable to expect the new OMB Director, Richard Darman, to scrap the Reagan budget and begin anew. There is neither the time nor the inclination. True, Congress has, in past years, rejected some budget proposals for trimming or scrapping programs that don't justify their expense. That is a good reason for better marketing efforts, but no reason to capitulate. Free-spending congressmen must now be compelled to defend the indefensible, such as the notorious "impact aid" program to keep congressional property taxes down, or Legal Services Corporation aid for militant lawyers, or subsidies to rural electric companies. Contrary to the amiable irrelevancies of Senator Mitchell, the Bush Administration will not back away from its effort to end such profligate favors; instead, it is more likely to *add* cuts to the list.

Indeed, it has in its arsenal a weapon called "sequestration," with which it threatens to derail the Beltway gravy train. The rumor is circulating that the Bush crew will be willing, if necessary, to employ Gramm-Rudman's across-the-board spending cuts if more selective spending restraints are again ignored by Congress. In the past, sequestration seemed a toothless tiger, because half of its bite is cleverly aimed at defense. Yet defense is not greatly at risk from a year of sequestration, since Congress is eager to cut it anyway. If military outlays were held to the 1989 level they would still be 57 per cent higher than in 1979 in real terms, and reforms such as closing unnecessary military bases are long overdue. If it comes down to whether the government should spend more on defense or non-defense, the answer may well be neither. The prospect of simply holding the line on real outlays scares Congress a lot more than it scares the White House. In the great poker game of budget negotiations, this gives the White House an ace in the hole. Those who have been gambling with the taxpayers' money do not have such a strong hand after all.

Thanks a Bunch

West Germans, like Miss Marple's cops,
Who tend to underrate the drops
She gets on killers,
Have finally, with kicks and screams,
Agreed our undercover team's
Not writing thrillers.

W. H. VON DREELE

Judging Mr. Bush

WHILE CONSERVATIVES will debate over various "lost opportunities" of the Reagan Administration, one generally accepted accomplishment is its appointment of nearly four hundred federal judges, more than half of the total bench. Under both William French Smith and Edwin Meese, the Administration never lost sight of its mandate: to appoint judges who viewed the Constitution as a binding legal document and respected the words and intentions of those who crafted it.

But this "judicial revolution" is far from complete. There are still, on the lower courts, several hundred holdovers from the Carter and Johnson Administrations committed to bending the Constitution to fit their own policy preferences.

So President Bush must continue to take judicial selection seriously. During the next four years he will be confronted with something like 175 to two hundred district- and circuit-court vacancies. It would be a tragedy if, just at a time when the traditional understanding of the limited role of the courts has begun to be restored among judges, the new President were to

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No Apology Needed

IN HIS FAREWELL SPEECH the President could have cited, but did not, a number of mitigating factors behind the Administration's deficit performance:

1. The sharp recession of 1980-1982 was responsible for approximately $640 billion, or 38 per cent, of the total growth in national debt since 1980, according to the Office of Management and Budget (OMB).

2. The 1988 deficit—$155.1 billion—was equal to 3.2 per cent of GNP, the lowest ratio since 1981.

3. According to figures released in December by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the budget surpluses run by state and local governments will cut the United States' overall deficit/GNP ratio to 1.7 per cent, or considerably below the 2.9 per cent average for the European countries in 1988.

4. Federal spending this decade is expected to grow at the slowest rate since the 1920s:

Percentage Increase in Real Federal Spending, by Decade	
1920s	- 30.7
1930s	212.4
1940s	165.0
1950s	54.4
1960s	49.6
1970s	37.2
1980s (est.)	26.0

5. Federal outlays accounted for 22.3 per cent of GNP in 1988, slightly more than the 22.1 per cent share in 1980. By 1990 we will have experienced the first decline over a full decade since the 1920s:

Federal Spending As A Percentage of GNP	
1920	6.9
1930	4.2
1940	9.9
1950	16.2
1960	18.0
1970	19.8
1980	22.1
1990 (est.)	21.0

6. Federal purchases of goods and services accounted for only 36 per cent of total spending, or 8 per cent of GNP last year. In 1980, 9 per cent of GNP was purchased by the Federal Government, and in the 1960s, more than 10 per cent.

7. The "deficit problem" is to a large degree a transfer-payment problem: in 1988, transfer payments, in the form of payments to individuals, grants to state and local governments, and interest on the federal debt (which may be thought of as a transfer from taxpayers to bond-holders), accounted for about two-thirds of all spending.

8. Although cumulative defense spending over the last eight fiscal years (1981 through 1988) was 36 per cent higher, in real terms, than over the preceding eight years, the share of GNP currently devoted to defense—6.1 per cent—is still smaller than at any time during the 1950s and 1960s.

9. Despite the tax cuts, federal revenues have averaged 18.9 per cent of GNP since 1981, up slightly from the 18.3 per cent share in the 1970s.

—ED RUBENSTEIN

risk undermining this achievement in order to get along with Congress.

If such issues as crime, the Pledge, and the ACLU are not made the basis for a commitment by President Bush and his Attorney General to appoint judges who understand the relationship between Warren Court decisions on criminal procedures and the present soaring urban crime rates, who recognize the impact of such decisions as *Roe* and *Engel* upon the national moral fabric, and who are unwilling to view the Bill of Rights as the personal plaything of *ersatz* civil-libertarians, then the critics of the Bush campaign will have been proven right. Such campaign issues will demonstrably have been diversionary and cynical. If, however, George Bush uses these issues to build a mandate for a principled process of selecting federal judges, then last fall's campaign will be justified and its historical stature elevated.

Democrats after Dukakis

WILL THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, the oldest political party in the world, now go into receivership? The question is a serious one. The Federalists died and so did the Whigs. The British Liberal Party es-

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sentially went out of business in 1918. The British Labour Party has disappeared into irrelevance, the plausible Callaghan giving way to the implausible Foote and Kinnock. Over and done with.

Our Democratic Party today is in intellectual and political turmoil. Michael Dukakis is said to believe that he deserves a second run for the Presidency. Other Democratic groupings are thinking of a recognizably mainstream candidate such as Bill Bradley. And the Left will try to take over the party machinery behind a presumptive Jesse Jackson candidacy in 1992, which would result in electoral disaster.

These choices will be made against a global backdrop in which it has become very difficult to say what "Left" actually means. Wherever you look around the world, socialism as classically understood is on the defensive. In England, Margaret Thatcher has been deregulating and privatizing, with the result that England is no longer the sick man of the Western world. Socialism in France, Spain, Italy, and Germany is a dead letter. Even in the Soviet Union and China the leadership is trying to bring some market incentives into the equation in order to rescue stagnant economies. Latin American and African socialism are decaying, and some of the most dynamic economies in the world are the market economies of the Pacific Rim.

Against this backdrop, Jesse Jackson would move the Democratic Party in the direction of socialism. He has frequently been called "the conscience of the Democratic Party," and if that party is really a socialist party Jackson may well be its conscience. His profoundest and most earnest admiration appears to be reserved for Third World socialist dictators.

Indeed, the strength of the Left within the Democratic Party is that it has a leader. Jackson did run, got a lot of votes in the primaries, and became a national figure. Owing to the deal Michael Dukakis was forced to strike with him, Jackson's people are in a strong position to try to seize the party machinery.

The mainstream Democrats, meanwhile, have important figures, but no single leader and no intellectual strategy. Bradley and Robb are vote-getters in their own states but, so far, nothing more.

A Jacksonized Democratic Party would certainly precipitate the re-alignment that the Republicans have been unable to achieve on their own. Such a party would be heavily black and Hispanic, with a dusting of radical academics at the leadership level. If a Jackson takeover eventuated, people like Bradley, Nunn, and Robb would most probably follow the trail blazed by John Connally and join the new majority.

Jac, *Pourquoi Pas?*, Brussels / Rothco

No Gold for Pyongyang

IT IS ONE THING to bite off one's nose to spite one's face. It is surely another to build, as the North Koreans did last year, one's own gigantic Olympic complex, when their government knew there was no possibility of any of it being used. In fact, the stadium (bigger even than the official Olympic stadium in Seoul), nine gymnasiums with a combined seating capacity of fifty thousand, and a vast Olympic village extending for three miles along the monumental Gwang-Bok Avenue in Pyongyang were rushed to completion through the summer as though the Games 115 miles away in the South Korean capital did not exist.

North Korea had originally hoped it would be designated as the Olympic host along with Seoul. When that failed to happen, it hoped that the "socialist brothers"—China, the Soviet Union, and the others—would boycott the Games in support. That didn't happen either, and so North Korea was left out in the cold.

But these phantom buildings, which will purportedly be destined for a "youth festival" this year, nevertheless cast a shadow over the Olympic festival. The shadow is the realization that South Korea, as the undoubted representative of the whole Korean people, still possesses only half of its national territory. Kim Il-sung, the old North Korean despot, commands a formidable military machine, as we found out 35 years ago and perhaps have since forgotten. Nor is it in the especial interest of Peking or Moscow to defang him. As South Korea grows rich and ripe, it becomes an ever-more-tempting prize for adventurers from the north who have nothing to lose. And since it will become increasingly an American hostage to fortune, we should perhaps meditate a little bit about that phantom stadium in Pyongyang.

Cooing over Koop

ONE OF THE telltale signs that a member of a Republican Administration has won the approval of the formally neutral media is the phrase, "X has surprised friend and foe alike." This formula has re-

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placed the threadbare signal, "X has grown." Variants include, "X has come to appreciate the full complexity of the issues," and "X has abandoned the black-and-white view he espoused at the time of his appointment." The real message, of course, is that X has moved discreetly leftward. To say that he has "surprised friend and foe alike" is the delighted foe's way of saying he has turned his back on his old friends.

Thus *The New Republic* apprises its readers that "Surgeon General C. Everett Koop has confounded friends and foes." The occasion was Koop's apparently imminent report that abortions leave no medical or psychological scars on women who have had them.

Actually, Koop didn't issue a report. Instead, he wrote the President a four-page letter saying the data he was able to gather were inconclusive. He hedged carefully, though he did note that "50 per cent of women who have had an abortion apparently deny having had one when questioned."

That fact is suggestive—people don't deny having undergone appendectomies—but Koop can't be faulted for refraining from making rash generalizations. Abortion is wrong because of what it does to the child, not because of its effects on the mother's health. It would be convenient for the anti-abortion cause if women had a selfish motive for avoiding abortion, but the question has to be determined by evidence.

All the same, Koop's tentative tone on this topic contrasts sharply with his own strong statements of yore that abortion *does* harm women. Nor is he averse to making stern moral, as opposed to merely medical, statements against smoking. On abortion, as on AIDS, he has learned to assume properly enlightened attitudes.

As a result, the applause of the liberals rings in his ears. As *The New Republic* puts it, he has shown "a remarkable ability to separate his professional conduct from his moral and political beliefs." If he had been a civil-rights leader who had accepted a Reagan appointment, of course, he'd have been expected to use his office to *enact* his beliefs, and any failure to do so, however surprising to friend and foe alike, would have been treated as a betrayal.

Koop has been one of the major disappointments of the Reagan Administration. Two days after his letter to the President became public, the *New York Times* hailed him with the inevitable headline: "Koop's Stand on Abortion's Effect Surprises Friends and Foes Alike."

The Best and the Dullest

THE DUMB ATHLETE whose professors carry him like a sack of flour for four years has passed from joke to scandal, as college athletics has become a virtual subdivision of professional sports. (We particularly like the story of the basketball coach whose star center finished one semester with four Fs and a D. "Son," the coach remonstrated gently, "it looks to me like you're spending too much time on one subject.")

Now the NCAA has taken a modest step to tighten scholastic standards. A new rule would require athletes to have a 2.0 grade-point average and to score somewhat higher than a sea mollusk on standardized aptitude tests. Naturally, a chorus of coaches and civil-rights advocates is attacking the rule as "racist," on the grounds that it would hit minority students (and they don't mean Asians) especially hard.

The interest of the coaches is clear. John Thompson of Georgetown wants the best basketball team money can buy, so to speak, and any scholastic standards, by their nature, will tend to limit his talent pool.

Civil-rights leaders are another matter. Nothing the Ku Klux Klan says could be as damaging as the reflexive reaction of black spokesmen against a rule that would apply equally to all dumb jocks, regardless of color. The automatic equation of poor students with blacks would be deemed a deadly insult if it were made by a hostile white. To call an impersonal standard "discriminatory" is to invite contempt and condescension.

Once upon a time, civil-rights leaders condemned racial double standards. Now they demand them, apparently with no thought of what they are implying about both their cause and their constituency. It's obvious that civil-rights leaders don't have to pass aptitude tests.

NOTES & ASIDES

☐ Memo to: Our readers
From: WFB
Subject: Mortification of the flesh

In "The Week," in the issue published just before the national election, we announced that we would monitor *CBS Evening News* with Dan Rather on the Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday of the week preceding the election in order to report on his predictable tendentiousness in favoring Dukakis over Bush.

Having made that commitment, like Henry II we (*sic*) simply assumed that somebody, somewhere, would tape those programs and present the transcripts to us for our royal dissection. As it happened, we never got around to deputizing anybody actually to make those records, and when we grandly re-entered our 8′ × 12′ castle the following week and pushed a button—nothing fell upon our desk.

We are sorely embarrassed.

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I enclose advertising literature for some Soviet disin-

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formation that I received in the mail yesterday. Since I had never received any politically oriented mail before I subscribed to your marvelous periodical, I must assume that there is a "mole" working in your subscription department. As an officer in the United States military, I am sworn to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States (including the freedom of speech), but I do not feel I should be subjected to this unsolicited leftist propaganda. I suggest you contact the FBI or turn your mole into a double agent. You could then swamp Ed Asner and friends with advertising for NATIONAL REVIEW. Nothing like a good covert operation to get the heart pumping.

Cordially,
Michael Antonucci
Carmichael, Calif.

Dear Mr. Antonucci: Thanks for the tip. We've caught her! . . . She was beautiful, apparently devoted to us and her three children and the Republic; indeed, to life itself. We'll all miss that part of her. Gratefully, WFB

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Since BuckPac had such pleasing results in Connecticut, might there be a possibility of establishing one in Pennsylvania, when and if Senator Specter stands for re-election?

Yours very truly,
William A. Ditz
Fryburg, Pa.

Dear Mr. Ditz: The Executive Committee of BuckPac will weigh relevant applications. Supplicants must supply the intended object's ADA rating, plus also specimens from his speeches that would qualify him for a negative rating by BuckPac's Horse's Ass Committee. Cordially, WFB

Dear Bill Buckley:

I want to thank you for being catalyst to so many of us who wanted to get rid of Weicker. As chairman of his campaign for Congress in 1968, I have been doing penance lo these many years, and now at last I'm very happy. And you should be too!

Sincerely,
Babette Ransohoff
Stamford, Conn.

Dear Mrs. Ransohoff: I admire your courage. It would be good to have such communications from every Republican who voted for Mr. Weicker during the great political famine. Glad to oblige and thanks for your courtesy, WFB

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Occasionally during the Olympics I had trouble correctly matching the abbreviations of GDR and FRG to East Germany and West Germany until I found the easy mnemonic that the "D" in Communist East Germany stood for *Democratic* while the "R" in free West Germany stood for *Republic* of. Coincidence?

Sincerely,
John Paul Arnerich
Los Angeles, Calif.

Dear Mr. Arnerich: Yes. Cordially, WFB

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

As an English teacher in Japan I relish the arrival of my *NR* not only as the consummate source of conservative thought, but also as a sparkling example of exceptional writing!

Turning to politics, the recent defeat of Mike Dukakis by his taller opponent brings to mind two questions:

1. How often in a presidential election has the taller candidate won?
2. What should we do if Bill Bradley runs in '92?

Doomo arigato gozaimasu,
Mark Telloyan
Matsue-shi, Shimane-ken
Japan

Dear Mr. Telloyan: There are rumors to that effect—that the taller man wins (tends to win?)—but I wouldn't count on it. (Wasn't Ford taller than Carter?) Remember, FDR was mostly seated during those awful years. As for Bradley, it is as easy as that we shall need to cut him down to size. This should not be hard to do, given his political malnutrition. Cordially,

—WFB

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COUNSELING THE PRESIDENT

NATIONAL REVIEW *asked 12 distinguished contributors—not all of them American, not all of them conservative—two simple questions: What did they think were the most important problems facing the new President, and what should he do about them?*

William J. Bennett

FOR SEVERAL DECADES America has suffered from cultural drift, a gradual emptying of content from our nation's values. The Bush Administration can help fight to reclaim our culture by adopting a practical agenda for governing that recognizes the place culture deserves in our public discourse.

During the 1960s and '70s, some Americans—in particular, "elite" opinion leaders, academics, and others—forgot or rejected the most basic answers to questions about what contributes to our social well-being and prosperity, about what makes for individual character and responsibility. We allowed the public square to become, in Richard John Neuhaus's term, "naked"; we abdicated the arena of public discussion to the forces of moral and intellectual relativism.

As a result, we suffered a cultural breakdown of sorts—in areas like education, family life, crime, and drug use, as well as in our attitudes toward sex, individual responsibility, and concepts such as civic duty and public service.

Our children have borne the brunt of this cultural breakdown. But in recent years, we have begun to learn once again the importance of attending to our common culture. On fundamental issues of individual character and responsibility, on the role of institutions such as religion and the family, on the common purposes of our national life, we have come a long way in the last few years. But it is the work of more than a few years to reinvigorate and renew our common culture.

This work is not primarily the work of government. But it is work that those in government must be attentive to. It is prudent to remain wary of government when it comes to domestic matters. But government need not always be an unqualified evil. It can be made to serve responsible ends.

As a general starting point, the proper position should be that the Federal Government should not get involved with an issue if it is unlikely to play a helpful role. But some amount of government is going to be with us in the modern state whether we like it or not. If you couldn't get rid of substantial portions of government with the conservative revolution led by Ronald Reagan, you are probably not going to do it with anybody. This is not an argument for expanding the size of government; it *is* an argument for recognizing that government exists and has to be dealt with.

So, how should we deal with government? In some cases, simply by damage control, by trying to limit the harm that government does. We must insist that government do no harm to those institutions that really make a difference in the lives of individuals—institutions like the family, good schools, and community organizations.

But in many cases, the Bush Administration can go beyond this. It can harness government programs to purposes that reflect the basic views and values of the American people. If the current programs do not promote the qualities and habits and values that we wish, we need to see to it that they are reformed.

The larger task of restoring our cultural institutions is a task that belongs first and foremost to individuals themselves; a task that transcends politics generally, let alone the politics of any single Administration. Yet the restoration of cultural institutions cannot be accomplished without support from the polity. Thus, the Bush Administration needs to offer a practical agenda for governing in a positive, bold, and affirmative way.

Take as an example the issue of child care. The Dodd-Kildee child-care bill proposed in the last Congress is a bad bill. It is more concerned with creating new, bureaucratic structures than with supporting the very best structure possible for our children: the family. In addition to creating huge bureaucracies, it would discriminate against mothers who stay at home to raise their children, or who choose informal or church-related child care.

The new Administration could follow up on suggestions Mr. Bush offered during the campaign by supporting a much better bill, one that grants child-care tax credits, doesn't discriminate against families who choose to have one parent stay home to care for their children, treats equally the various types of child care, and targets funds more effectively to lower-income families. Conservatives should support the Bush Administration in efforts to think about ways the Federal Government could help families, rather than just raging against the Christopher Dodds of this world.

Politics is like football. The game always adds up to sixty minutes, and in Washington, as at Soldier Field, either you are on offense or you are on defense. There is no middle ground and (unlike football) there is never a time-

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out. Either you have the ball and are moving it against them, or they are moving it against you. My advice is: Move it against them. □

Mr. Bennett, the former Secretary of Education, is currently President of the Madison Center, a public-policy organization in Washington.

Paul Johnson

GEORGE BUSH starts off in a much stronger position than Ronald Reagan. In 1981 the United States was a demoralized country on the defensive everywhere, facing what appeared to be a monolithic and self-confident adversary, which set the agenda for international affairs and took all the initiatives. Today the roles are reversed. America is self-confident again, and with good reason. It is the Soviet Union that feels weak, looks divided and unsure of itself, and is acted upon rather than acts.

But Bush has one disadvantage compared to Reagan. Reagan was a man of few but simple and clear ideas, and people knew what they were. He set the tone of his Administration from the start, and stuck to it. Bush has never been identified in the public mind with any particular philosophy or posture. He conveys a sense of irresolution, even though he improved during the campaign (and since). My advice to him is to get himself a reputation for decisiveness as quickly as he can. There are two obvious ways in which he can do it, by redeeming the two great failures of the Reagan Administration.

The first is direct action to cut the budget deficit. The change in the world situation, which seems to be accelerating, offers big eventual savings on defense, and these can be accompanied by cuts in domestic programs. But Bush could do most to restore confidence in U.S. financial management by a quick decision to raise indirect taxes; international opinion rightly favors taxing gasoline as the most sensible way to raise additional revenue. I don't care what he said about taxes during the campaign: needs must. Despite what opponents of higher taxes say, I believe that Bush's willingness to bite the bullet of a gasoline tax would be the surest way to put the deficit top of the agenda and force Congress to respond by agreeing to cuts in domestic spending programs.

Secondly I think Bush should take advantage of current Soviet weakness and discouragement by making a determined effort to improve the overall U.S. position in Central America. Reagan rightly identified this theater as harboring the gravest threat to America's future security, but he was unable to do anything effective about it. What America must fear most—and it could come during Bush's first term—is a sudden and calamitous shift of Mexico to the left. The aim of Washington must be to show that it means business in this region: that it will act swiftly and decisively, that its friends will flourish and its enemies meet Nemesis. I doubt if there is much point, at this stage, in tinkering with Nicaragua. America must strike at the *fons et origo* of its weakness in Central America by taking steps to topple Castro. Once his regime is disposed of, and replaced by a democratic one, the Sandinistas will not stand a chance. There is ample evidence that Castro's position is deteriorating and his unpopularity increasing. Don't ask me how Bush should dispose of him: there are ways and means to do these things and the new President knows the score. But the blow must be sudden and sure. I know of no manner in which Bush can establish more effectively a reputation for firmness than by disposing of the man who has been the dedicated enemy of U.S. and democratic interests in the hemisphere for nearly thirty years. With Castro's scalp on his belt Bush would look a totally different, and more formidable, figure in the eyes of America and the world. Thereafter he would find many things much easier. □

Mr. Johnson is the author of, among other books, Modern Times *and* Intellectuals.

Charles Murray

IN THE FIELD of education, unlike homelessness and drugs, President Bush really does have it within his power to push through a major improvement in the status quo. He can reform by embarrassment, if he will use the bully pulpit to publicize three dirty little secrets about the current mess in American education.

The first dirty little secret is that education, which stands so high as a national problem, isn't a problem for everybody. People who have enough money to do so send their children to schools with good teachers and safe hallways and high test scores. They do so by moving to the right suburb or (especially in large cities) by putting the children in private schools. These wondrous schools are not especially exotic or expensively run. Most of them are in ordinary buildings, with ordinary textbooks and teachers who make less money than the people teaching in the public school down the street. The only difference is that the schools are private—or in the case of good suburban public schools, de-facto private.

The second dirty little secret is that the vast majority of middle-class liberals who oppose education vouchers—including members of the Senate and House of Representatives—exercise precisely this kind of choice for their own children.

The third dirty little secret is that middle-class liberals often oppose vouchers because they think that working-class parents are too narrow-minded, and poor people are too dumb, to be trusted with the same power of choice that's okay for themselves.

If President Bush will expose all three of these secrets relentlessly—pounding on them, ridiculing the smugness and the hypocrisy behind them—then perhaps something can be done.

For example, President Bush could try to get legislation authorizing this deal for any school system in the country: "Take your school budget for the current fiscal year and divide it by the total number of children ages five to 17 in your jurisdiction. If you will agree to offer just two-thirds of that amount of money in the form of a no-strings voucher to any parent who wants to choose his child's school for himself, the Federal Government will make up the difference between that sum and $3,000." Since the average tuition at non-religious private schools was still

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only $1,723 as of 1985 (and tuition at religious schools was only half that amount), $3,000 should be plenty for even the poorest parents to find a decent school for their children. The cost to the Federal Government would be on the order of $16 to $18 billion, which could be defrayed by eliminating the Department of Education. The benefit would be to enable working people and poor people to get a decent education for their kids—just like the rich folks do. □

Mr. Murray is Bradley Fellow at the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research and the author, most recently, of In Pursuit: Of Happiness and Good Government.

Edward I. Koch

THE UNITED STATES faces a problem so severe that it reaches from the most ravaged streets of our cities to mountain villages in foreign lands. The problem is drugs. Ridding our society of its torments will require a creativity and dedication that the Federal Government has, so far, failed to demonstrate, despite its vaunted commitment to a war on drugs.

I highlight the federal role for a simple reason. Cities have no control over their borders, no ability to reach beyond their city limits and move against the drug lords who send their poison into this country. In New York, we deploy special units of undercover cops called Tactical Narcotics Teams (TNT), seeking to reclaim the most ravaged streets from the drug predators. Even with these units' acknowledged success, the best we can hope for from TNT is a series of targeted triumphs. We cannot realistically expect to get at the root cause of the problem: the flow of drugs into the city.

Some have spoken despairingly in favor of the legalization of drugs, asserting that we are only wasting precious resources in a fight we cannot win. Aside from the many logistical problems that would come with legalization—Which drugs? In what dose? To whom? For how long?—there is ample proof that this approach has already failed.

Legalization was attempted in Great Britain and eventually abandoned after new addicts continued to appear, crime increased, and other, still-illegal drugs were offered by dealers. The death grip of addiction does not yield peacably to the superficial logic of legalization. Drugs, especially new derivatives like crack, create violent personalities and tear at the fabric of society. Legalization will only transform our ongoing national tragedy from murder to suicide.

Of course, supervised drug treatment is a crying need and I believe the Federal Government must offer treatment on demand to all addicts. For those convicted of a crime who test positive for drugs, I believe mandatory drug treatment is appropriate, with jail time added for those who refuse to participate.

But the key to any effort must be an effective strategy to stop drugs from coming into this country. Here, the Federal Government has exclusive control over the most potent resource available: the military. Intensive interdiction on the high seas and in the skies is critical to any realistic effort to cut the flow of drugs. National Guard units should be assigned to bolster the Customs force along the most vulnerable points of our border.

Likewise, we should use our foreign-aid budget to support those countries making a genuine effort to eradicate the cultivation of drugs. Producing countries that make scant effort to crack down on drug production should be barred from receiving foreign aid. The State Department does an annual study of drug production worldwide. It is time we used our own government's findings to acknowledge who is helping us fight the drug war and who is not.

Domestically, the Justice Department can take several initiatives that would speed up the prosecution and punishment of drug dealers:

—Grant state-court judges authority to try drug cases under the tougher federal laws.

—Designate local prosecutors as special Assistant U.S. Attorneys to give them federal punishment options.

—Temporarily reassign federal judges to especially busy districts to try drug cases.

—Use federal, state, and local jails interchangeably for the maximum effective use of facilities.

Until the Federal Government makes a strategic decision to conduct an all-out war on drugs, the cities will be left to their own limited devices and will achieve only modest success at best. We need our new President to rally Congress and the people for a counterattack against an enemy that is already occupying parts of our land and killing too many of our people. □

Mr. Koch is Mayor of New York.

Vladimir Bukovsky

WHAT IS THE definition of a "pragmatic Communist"? It is a Communist who has run out of money. By that definition, the Soviet Union is pragmatic in a big way. And this fact is revolutionizing attitudes in Western Europe.

My first advice to President Bush, therefore, is to brush up his German and learn the expression "*Wandel durch Handel*," because in plain English it spells out one unmitigated disaster for his Presidency.

The actual translation of the phrase is something like "A change through trade," or "Trade produces change." The idea itself is not terribly new: you pay the "good guys," and the "bad guys" don't come round to loot your shop. This idea might not work in Chicago any more, but it sure does work in Europe. Current Soviet borrowing has reached a staggering $2 billion a month, mostly in untied loans. Overall Soviet-bloc debt has increased 55 per cent since 1984—since the Communists promised to be "good guys," that is, and report on their natural disasters. If Western trade changes them as much as predicted, then we might in a few years learn about the next Chernobyl before the local population does, or, perhaps, even in advance of the actual catastrophe.

But we are merely at the beginning of a new era. Recently, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl brought *another* $11 billion to Moscow as a Christmas gift from Europe's Santa Claus, while his Foreign Minister, Hans Dietrich Genscher, shuttled between European capitals try-

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ing to launch a new Marshall Plan for the Soviet empire. Rumor has it that the ruble will soon become convertible, with West German banks underwriting its value.

In short, the crisis might be in the Soviet Union, but the trouble is in Western Europe. At long last a peace offensive is bringing the Soviets tangible results. All they need to do is to cut a few more tank divisions, offer a few more hints about the possible reunification of Germany, display their "new thinking" a bit longer, and there will be no more NATO to speak of. Trade produces change, indeed.

However, if the crisis is in Moscow, and the trouble in Europe, the problem is certainly in Washington. Some naïve outsider might think that there is only one President of the United States, with the power to conduct foreign policy, at any one time. In fact, there are 535 of them from all over the country. They might not know exactly where Germany is located, but each has a grand idea about international affairs. The resulting American foreign policy is always inconsistent, short-sighted, and uncertain—which can only add to European anxiety. The most vivid example of such inconsistency was the American attempt to block European involvement in constructing the Soviet natural-gas pipeline, while the U.S. still sold grain to the Soviet Union. What else could that achieve but a growing European resentment?

Bearing in mind all these limitations, how much can the U.S. President do? I suggest he start with a bit of *glasnost*. Surely, if this device could help Gorbachev, there is no reason why it should not help a democratically elected leader of a democratic country. All Soviet-bloc borrowing from all Western financial institutions, all transactions conducted with the Soviet-bloc countries should be tracked down and publicized. Indeed, why is this information kept secret now? And from whom? The Soviets, after all, know it, and so do the institutions conducting such transactions. Only the public is kept in the dark. Where then, is our "right to know"? If the transactions are truly in the Western countries' interests, and there is nothing to be ashamed of, the businessmen and bankers should be proud to report them in some detail. If they are not, we are entitled to be suspicious.

Needless to say, the political atmosphere created by such public awareness will make further loans and transactions with the Soviets much more difficult. Active campaigning by the U.S. Government against them might well be sufficient to slow them down. The threat of American withdrawal from Europe might prove effective in forcing the Europeans to abandon their dreams about Marshall Plans for Moscow. After all, one cannot seriously expect Americans to spend billions on protecting Europe, if Europe spends billions on strengthening the very same enemy it is being protected from.

We have to be prepared for a protracted crisis of the Soviet empire, with its inevitable cycles of détente and cold war succeeding each other. So we need a common long-term strategy for the Western Alliance, if we want it to survive. In the final analysis, history will judge President Bush by his success in halting the epidemic spread of the German disease. □

Mr. Bukovsky is President of Resistance International and author of, among other books, To Build a Castle *and* To Choose Freedom.

"You're loaning them *a $9-billion line of credit? What a coincidence! They're loaning* us *a line of fighters, bombers, and missiles!"*

Donald T. Regan

GEORGE BUSH assumes the Presidency at a time when the United States is in a position of great national and international strength. The U.S. economy is in its seventh year of a record-breaking expansion, while our principal adversary is experiencing the "fruits" of seventy years of Marxist-Leninist government: political, ethnic, and economic disaster.

He also enters office well qualified for the tasks at hand. To a degree unusual in American history, George Bush was a companion to his predecessor, a participant in the making of policy, and a witness to the daily routine of the Presidency.

George Bush also understands the lesson of Ronald Reagan's successes: like any other person, a President who sticks to his principles will usually win out. That much is clear from Bush's resounding victory, which was won in spite of early defeats and widespread skepticism, even within his own party.

The major problem facing the new President is *not*, as most pundits say, the budget deficit. The critical problem—and opportunity—is keeping the economy growing. Without a strong economy, federal revenues won't rise, and the deficit won't shrink; *any* increase in spending will raise the deficit. Without a strong economy we cannot maintain a strong defense. A weak economy would produce more unemployment, less housing, lower farm prices, and lower oil prices, and would worsen the problems of banks, S&Ls, and the stock market. Any or all of these happenings would immediately provoke some in Congress, and in the Bush Administration, to try to throw money at the problems, which would only make things worse.

President Bush was absolutely correct

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when he stated that the problem with the federal budget is not that people are taxed too little. It's that the Federal Government spends too much. This is the most important point in understanding and analyzing the United States' "deficit problem."

Further, the budget deficit should be kept in perspective. For all the talk about $150- to $200-billion deficits, the proper measure should be a relative one, as a percentage of the GNP. On this score the federal deficit has been declining rapidly, to the 3 per cent level at present. When one factors in state and local budget surpluses and the capital component of the budget, our deficit is not high at all. We need to keep the downward trend going, but annual deficit reductions of $30 billion or so would be more than enough.

Such a reduction can, as President Bush has stated, be achieved by revenue growth, selective freezes, and some cuts. Regarding cuts, the stress should be placed on defense (with a real freeze) and agriculture (with meaningful cuts, on the order of $8 to $10 billion annually), as well as some cap on doctors' and/or hospital fees paid by Medicare and Medicaid.

In any event, the deficit problem is not economic, it's political. Most members of Congress remain "tax-and-spenders." For this reason, great caution is needed when the inevitable "deals" are offered by the congressional leadership.

Increased spending and taxes, the inevitable result of any such deal, would jeopardize our economic recovery. Therefore, President Bush must establish early on his authority with Congress on budget issues. This may involve not merely threatening vetoes but actually *using* the authority.

The durability of our record economic recovery faces another challenge as well. The Federal Reserve may be endangering the recovery with an overly tight monetary policy. If this is not reversed soon, Bush may—not unlike Ronald Reagan—inherit a recession early in his first term.

More generally, President Bush must realize that a strong leader often must act against his advisors. In this, he will profit from his recollections of President Reagan, who resisted the conventional wisdom and pushed through tax cuts to overcome the recession of the early Eighties. Few Presidents have shattered orthodoxies as Reagan did. Economic pundits were nearly unanimous in their belief that his economic philosophy could not work in the real world, and foreign-policy experts were (and are) convinced that his diplomatic goals were unrealistic, even naïve. His accomplishments, which now include some of the great turning points in history, are all the answer that is needed to this conventional wisdom.

The fact is, no one possesses the wisdom to advise a new President on the details of his future actions because no one, least of all the man himself, can foresee what his years in the White House will bring. But as long as President Bush listens to his own instincts, and to the voice of his own experience, the American people will be well served. □

Mr. Regan was Secretary of the Treasury and White House Chief of Staff under President Reagan.

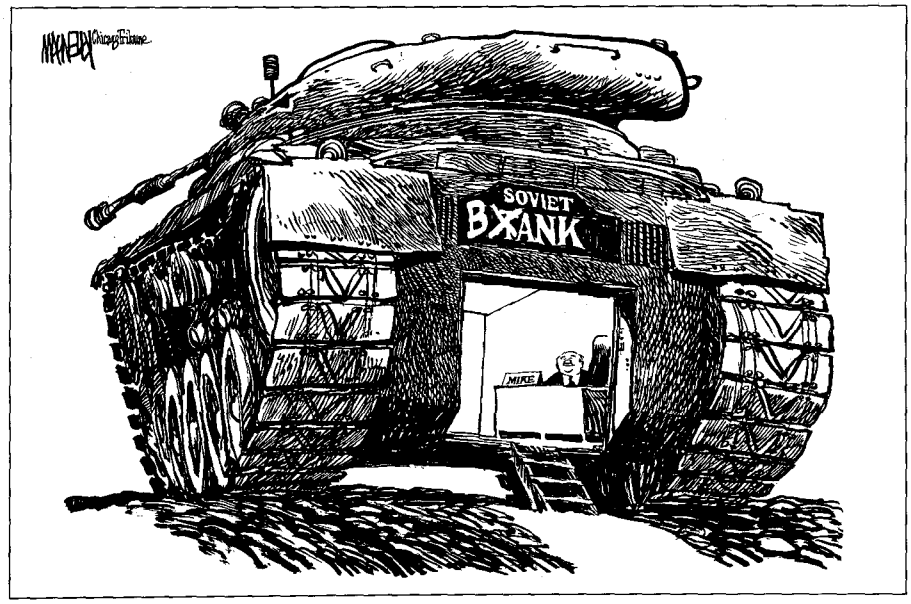
Willie L. Brown Jr.

TWO ISSUES will loom especially large on the American agenda when George Bush assumes the Presidency.

First, there is the persistent problem of the federal deficit. Many experts believe that George Bush has unwisely hampered his ability to address the deficit because of his "no new taxes" pledge. Even with those constraints, however, there are solutions that should be pursued. For example, a tax-amnesty program should be initiated. The government would allow anyone who owes taxes, for whatever reason, to pay those taxes, without penalty, during the amnesty period. Estimates of the boost to federal revenues from an amnesty effort run as high as $100 billion. If only half that amount were recouped, a significant reduction in the deficit would be achieved.

Second, the spirit of no new taxes can be upheld if tax increases are not *general* tax increases, such as a hike in the personal income tax. Other, more restricted, forms of taxation should be examined, such as the so-called "sin taxes" on items like cigarettes and alcohol. In real dollars, these taxes are lower than they were 25 years ago. Restoring federal cigarette and alcohol taxes to their 1950 levels, and adding a similar levy for beer and wine, could increase federal revenues by as much as $20 billion a year.

The second major issue facing the new President will be world peace, particularly in the Middle East. If the forty-plus years of constant turmoil in that region are to be brought to an end, and if political stability is to be achieved, then the United States must exercise its power as a world leader and leave no avenue for peace unexplored. Our refusal to allow Yasir Arafat to travel to the U.S. to deliver his version of a peace proposal to the United Nations is a prime example of how not to proceed.



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When human and political rights—particularly the rights of speech, debate, and dissent—are abrogated in places such as Nicaragua, Poland, or Cuba, the United States is quick to react with condemnation. It is only proper that we do so. Human rights and freedoms are the best part of our legacy—our most valuable export to the world at large.

How do we square our dedication to such rights and freedoms with our refusal to let Arafat speak? How do we appear to the world community when we force the United Nations General Assembly to meet outside the United States for the first time in its history, just to listen to the proposals of one of the principal parties in a world-threatening conflict? Obviously, we look a little foolish at best and grossly hypocritical at worst. More importantly, such posturing cannot help but diminish our leadership in the quest for peace in the Middle East.

The actions we have taken since Arafat set forth his proposal and made the concessions we had demanded (i.e., adherence to established UN policies, renunciation of terrorism, and recognition of Israel's right to exist) are among the most encouraging and promising developments in the recent history of the Middle East. Now, at least, we can begin to be a part of the process through which peace may be gained.

Ultimately, this new approach will bolster our ability to protect the vital interests of Israel, the region's only democracy, and one of our most loyal and important allies. As a passionate supporter of Israel, I believe that a resolution of the conflict with the Palestinians is the best, and perhaps the only, means by which to safeguard long-range Israeli and U.S. interests. There will, of course, be those who will seek to reverse this recent course. I would hope that the new President will devote the extraordinary powers of his office to safeguarding this fragile dialogue that has just begun, and to the thorough, unwavering pursuit of peace in the Middle East. □

Mr. Brown is the Speaker of the California State Assembly and was National Chairman of Jesse Jackson's 1988 campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Brian Crozier

IN THE POST-REAGANITE, pragmatist era now unfolding, the student of ideology tends to be dismissed as a tiresome irrelevance. Yet to ignore ideology in assessing Mikhail Gorbachev's "sincerity" makes no more sense than to ignore Shiite fundamentalism in considering Ayatollah Khomeini's Islamic Republic.

It is, of course, not impossible that the General Secretary of the ruling CPSU—in its 72nd year of continuous power—is busy dismantling the ideological baggage that is the only source of legitimacy in the Kremlin. But it would be wise to leave room for the possibility that his territorial retreats are expedient and tactical: i.e., temporary and reversible.

So, let us tick off the retreats. One has to admit that they are impressive:

1. Afghanistan. Yes, the Red Army is pulling out, even though, every now and then, it halts the process to deal with troublesome *mujahedin* who just won't stop fighting.

2. Kampuchea. Yes, the Vietnamese surrogates are pulling out their formidable army.

3. Angola/Namibia. Yes, the Soviets have told their Cuban surrogates that they, too, have to pull out, and (very, very reluctantly) they have agreed to do so.

4. Cuba/Nicaragua. Well, there the situation is more complicated. Fidel Castro (somehow diminished without his familiar cigar), who has been celebrating the thirtieth anniversary of *his* revolution, has made it quite plain that he doesn't terribly like what Mr. Gorbachev is doing in the USSR. Still, what is a *líder máximo* to do without the money to sustain the export of revolution? Even Daniel Ortega seems to be hinting that perhaps, after all, the Sandinistas won't be needing that truly gigantic (relative to their country's population) armed establishment they had been planning.

5. And (last, but far from least) Europe. In his UN speech, Mr. Gorbachev announced the unilateral reduction of the Soviet armed forces by half a million, and the withdrawal of six tank divisions from East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary by 1991, with other unilateral cuts on the way.

All that is truly impressive. But what President Bush, Secretary of State James Baker, Secretary of Defense John Tower, and National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft have to work out for themselves is whether all this (and doubtless more on the way) really means that the Soviet Union has abandoned its imperial role, and thereby ceased to threaten the rest of the world. If these able, intelligent men can do that while ignoring the ideological dimension, they will earn my deep respect.

Instead, they might bear in mind that Article 28 of the Soviet Constitution sanctions (and indeed obligates) the Soviet Union to do the kind of thing it has been doing all along in Afghanistan and, through surrogates, in Kampuchea, Angola, El Salvador, and the rest.

True, that Constitution is under revision. Will Article 28 go?

Meanwhile, deception is a cardinal principle in the Soviet conduct of international relations. Will deception be discarded, along with SS-20s? Will Leninism go, too (even though Mr. Gorbachev reaffirmed it in his UN speech)?

If it does go, will he have to go, too? And if so, will the Bush Administration find itself talking to a truly Leninist successor? It is, in short, far too early to treat the Soviet Union as though it were just another great power. □

Mr. Crozier is a long-standing NATIONAL REVIEW *columnist and the author of* Socialism: The Grand Delusion *and* The Andropov Deception.

Stuart Butler

RONALD REAGAN entered office amid stark crisis abroad and mounting economic problems at home. The American people knew what the problems were, and they gave Reagan the backing he needed to solve them. George Bush, on the other hand, faces domestic and international problems that are real but less obvious to most Americans. This means President Bush will need

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every ounce of his political skill to deal with these issues.

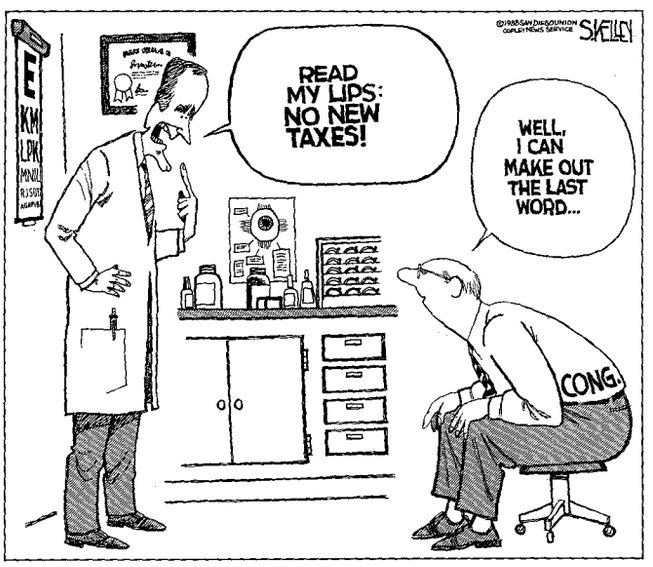
Internationally, the new President's first task must be to regain the political initiative from the Soviets. Mr. Gorbachev's series of shrewd proposals stem more from economic and political weakness within the Soviet Union than from revisionism in the Kremlin. Yet Gorbachev has skillfully weakened the bonds of NATO by appealing to the "peace at any price" crowd in Europe and in Congress.

President Bush must avoid this threat to the Alliance in three ways. First, he must bolster Western unity and resolve by meeting with European leaders to hammer out an agreed strategy to deal with the Soviets. That strategy must include demands for real, measurable reductions in Soviet pressure in Asia and Central America, as well as in Europe. Second, he must rebuild a bipartisan foreign policy in Washington, sending a clear signal of American unity to Europe as well as to Moscow. And third, he must press forward with the Strategic Defense Initiative, the West's insurance policy against Soviet intentions, by making support for SDI the key litmus test for any congressman claiming to be responsible on defense.

The President can also turn Gorbachev's flank, while pursuing America's goal of a free and prosperous world, by vigorously supporting the worldwide capitalist revolution. In particular, he should announce a doctrine of economic democracy to complement the Reagan doctrine of support for political democracy. The key element of this doctrine should be to chip away at the foundations of the Soviet empire by giving moral and technical support to the introduction of markets and private ownership in the Eastern bloc and by tying U.S. aid to Third World countries to the encouragement of grass-roots entrepreneurship.

At home, President Bush's most important test will be his handling of the deficit "problem"—an issue more of political than of economic significance. The new President is under enormous pressure to break his unequivocal campaign pledge of no new taxes. But with a backlog of expenditures already mandated by Congress, any new taxation would be swallowed up by new spending, not earmarked to reduce existing red ink. Even a hint of concession on taxes would have the spending sharks circling the White House.

President Bush must come out fighting. He should point out that Ronald Reagan's final budget shows that deficit-reduction targets can be achieved without tax increases or heartless cuts, and declare that he will talk only when Congress responds with its own no-new-taxes budget. He should add that he won the election on the basis of no tax increases and any tax-hike proposals from Congress will be dead on arrival at the White House.



Further, he should counterattack by targeting the budget process. President Reagan showed how easy it is to embarrass Congress by pointing to the built-in wastefulness of the current process. Bush should put the Democrats firmly on the defensive by offering legislation to reform drastically the 1974 Budget Act by restoring the budgetary powers of the President, by enforcing spending limits, and by requiring up-and-down votes on each item of pork-barrel spending.

Unless President Bush wins this battle over the politics of spending he will be unable to take the initiative anywhere else on the domestic front. For the majority in Congress, "kinder and gentler" means more federal spending; an "education President" means more federal spending; tackling the problems of the environment means more federal spending. The only way Bush can force Congress to try new ways to deal with problems is to deny it the opportunity to spend more money. □

Mr. Butler is Director of Domestic Policy Studies at the Heritage Foundation and author, most recently, of Out of the Poverty Trap *(with Anna Kondratas).*

Vitthya Vejjajiva

DEVELOPMENTS IN Southeast Asia should be high on the foreign-policy agenda of the Bush Administration. With the prospect of a Sino-Soviet summit in the first half of 1989, a breakthrough on Cambodia could be imminent. With or without such a breakthrough, greater pressures are expected for normalization of relations with Vietnam. The Bush Administration will therefore be faced with some difficult policy options. ASEAN [the Association of Southeast Asian Nations] hopes that the Administration will act in a calibrated manner in upgrading U.S. relations with Vietnam and will coordinate its moves with ASEAN.

Under President Reagan, U.S. policy toward Indochina has been consistent and effective. It has played a major part in moving Hanoi nearer to the negotiating table. Without an active role by the United States, the settlement of the Cambodian conflict would be determined by the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. To safeguard U.S. strategic interests and the interests of the non-Communist countries of Southeast Asia, the new Administration should continue to actively engage the Soviet Union and the PRC in high-level discussions to ensure that a peace settlement would result in a truly independent, neutral, and non-aligned Cambodia. The Administration should increase support to the non-Communist forces led by Prince Sihanouk and Prime Minister Son Sann in order to strengthen their position relative to other forces and to continue to oppose the return of the Khmer Rouge to power in a dominant position. The United States should

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continue to press Hanoi to agree to a timetable for the complete withdrawal of its troops from Cambodia and should also contribute constructively to the lasting settlement of the conflict, such as by accepting an international peace-keeping force. ASEAN looks forward to working closely with President Bush to bring about such a settlement and, thereafter, to mobilize international support for the reconstruction of Indochina.

On the economic front, ASEAN countries have impressive records of economic growth. In recent years, however, they have been adversely affected by certain protectionist measures adopted by the United States. ASEAN is concerned about how the 1988 Omnibus Trade Act will be enforced by the new Administration. The resort by the United States to unilateral measures to resolve its trade disputes with certain ASEAN countries has already resulted in an increase in anti-Americanism in these countries. This is taking place at a time when Beijing and Moscow are actively trying to win friends and gain influence in Southeast Asia. ASEAN hopes that the Bush Administration will roll back existing protectionist measures, resist additional protectionist pressures from specific interest groups, and continue to take into consideration the totality of interests that bind ASEAN to the United States. ASEAN also hopes that the Bush Administration will seek and support a durable solution to the debt problem. A strong economy in ASEAN contributes to the U.S. economy and its strategic interests in Southeast Asia and beyond. ASEAN looks forward to the further development of closer ASEAN-U.S. economic relations.

ASEAN, finally, urges the Bush Administration, the 101st Congress, and other nations to implement the program of multinational assistance to the Philippines as soon as possible. To this end, ASEAN hopes that a preparatory meeting to launch the initiative could be held at an early date. The economic revitalization of the Philippines is critical to the stability and progress of not just the Philippines but Southeast Asia as a whole.

The Reagan Administration has been a force for peace and prosperity in East and Southeast Asia. President Bush has said he would continue such policy. ASEAN looks forward to working very closely with his Administration to bring lasting peace and greater prosperity to the region of Southeast Asia, and to augment the mutually beneficial relationship between the United States and ASEAN. □

Mr. Vejjajiva is Thailand's Ambassador to the United States and currently Chairman of the ASEAN Washington Committee. This contribution represents the collective opinions of that Committee (representing Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand).

Alan Keyes

GEORGE BUSH comes to office with the Democrats firmly in control of Congress. Within the narrow compass of Washington insider politics, that control gives them the upper hand, especially now that its permanence seems once and for all confirmed by electoral events. Because Congress manipulates the purse strings, Washington's bureaucrats see subservience to Congress as the chief ingredient in any recipe for survival. Unless Bush maintains a strong, active political base outside the Beltway, his Administration will succumb to the reality of congressional domination.

In the first two years of his Administration, Ronald Reagan maintained such a base. It allowed him to set the agenda for policy in the key areas of taxation and defense. No amount of insider wheeling and dealing would have secured the results he achieved. By articulating a clear ideological alternative, Reagan influenced the climate in which congressional actions and votes would be judged. This made it possible to forge bipartisan coalitions that supported the Administration's objectives. Unfortunately, beginning with the 1982 elections, and culminating in the loss of the Senate in 1986, it became increasingly clear that the Administration could not make its influence felt at the political grass roots. Feeling themselves increasingly immune from electoral consequences, Congress's Democratic majority launched a determined bid to achieve effective congressional domination of the national government. This bid included an effort to weaken and intimidate the political elements of the executive branch, while working with congressionally sensitive elements of the bureaucracy to subvert their authority and leadership. The Boland amendments, the Iran-Contra hearings, the use of special prosecutors to harass key Administration officials, the smear campaign mounted to justify rejection of Robert Bork for the Supreme Court—all were part of a campaign for congressional supremacy.

In order to be effective, George Bush will need a strategy for thwarting this campaign. He is doubtless being encouraged by some of his advisors to see this as a choice between appeasement and partisan confrontation. Neither can succeed. If Bush tries to appease Congress's liberal Democratic leadership, he will undermine the Republican claim to represent a true policy alternative, positioning himself and the party for defeat in 1990 and 1992. On the other hand, confrontation along purely partisan lines guarantees failure, given the Republicans' minority status in Congress. In order to achieve working legislative majorities, Bush will have to draw Democratic support.

But if he rejects the politically suicidal strategy of appeasing Congress's liberal majority leadership, how can he garner sufficient Democratic backing? He will discover, as he did during the election campaign, that the answer lies in presenting a clear ideological alternative. The bipartisan conservative majority that elected George Bush will emerge as an effective governing majority only if the new President offers a convincing rallying point, a national agenda that reforms the mistaken principles and approaches of the liberal era without abandoning the humane concerns that, at their best, inspired liberal activists. The component parts of that agenda already exist in the well-stocked storehouses of conservative and neoconservative thinking. Education could be revitalized by emphasizing parental choice, local responsibility, and the development of a strong moral and civic identity among our young. An ethic of individual responsibility could be restored to our law-enforcement, criminal-justice, and penal systems, assuring that lawbreakers receive fair judgment and prompt, consistent punishment for their crimes. Above all, the Bush Administration could dedicate itself to restoring the strength and integrity of the intermediate institutions that secure personal freedom, privacy, and responsibility—the family, the churches,

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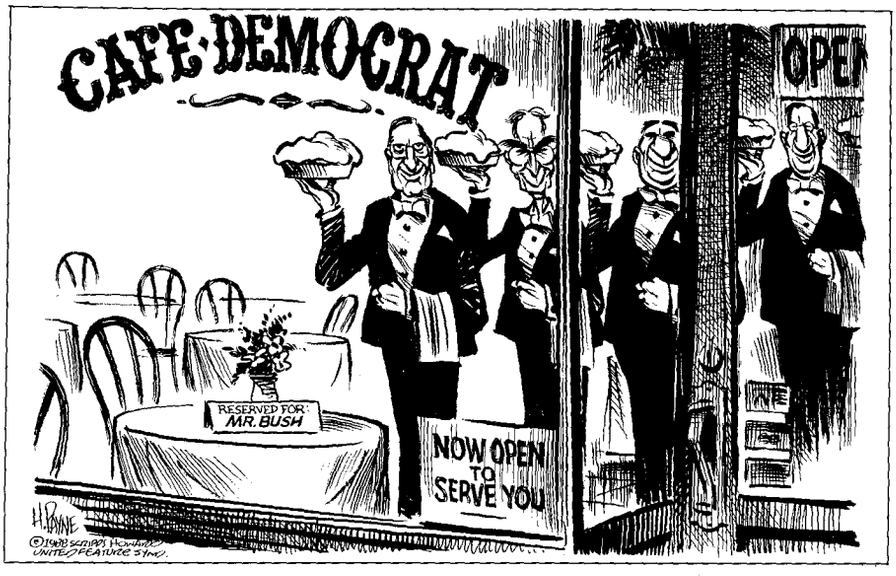
and the institutions of local self-government and neighborhood initiative.

By assertively promoting a conservative agenda, Bush can challenge the Democratic leadership in Congress while building a working majority across party lines. But Democratic members of Congress will not respond unless they fear the electoral consequences of failing to do so. Thus, the second major component of Bush's presidential strategy should be a comprehensive effort to break the Democratic Party's dominant hold on grass-roots politics in America. Using Lee Atwater's formidable partisan skills at the Republican National Committee, Bush should launch a major effort to build or revitalize Republican organizations at the state and local level. This should be pursued in the South, where Republicans have made gains in recent years, but it should also be pressed vigorously in the parts of urbanized America that have been most resistant to Republicanism. No Democrat in Congress should feel safe from a vigorous grass-roots Republican challenge in 1990.



Bush must challenge the Democratic leadership in Congress and in the country at large. The two elements of this strategy depend on one another. Without an assertive national agenda, dramatized by moments of positive confrontation between President Bush and Congress, it will be difficult to arouse interest and enthusiasm for organizational efforts at the grass-roots level. Without clear signs of momentum at the grass roots, it will be difficult to induce enough rank-and-file congressional Democrats to break ranks with their liberal leaders. □

Mr. Keyes is a Resident Scholar at the American Enterprise Institute and a former State Department official, and was most recently GOP candidate for the U.S. Senate from Maryland.

Jeane J. Kirkpatrick

SOME PROBLEMS are as predictable as the high interest payments on big debts. Some are as unexpected as Mikhail Gorbachev's "charm offensive."

At home, the next Administration needs to find ways to provide more and better child care and early-childhood education, to raise educational standards and the quality of public education, to protect young Americans against drugs and the drug culture. Other industrial nations have found ways to accomplish these tasks and also to ensure that health care and shelter are provided for all citizens. Surely we can too. It is the first requirement of a kinder, gentler America.

In foreign affairs, the Bush Administration will need to deal with the growing military and economic vulnerability of the United States. Neither our defense nor our trade and foreign-investment policies are adequate to contemporary realities.

American jobs, businesses, technological advantages, and industrial bases are endangered by trade and investment policies that give some trading partners an unfair advantage. Individual American negotiators are no match for foreign governments; they will be even less able to compete in an integrated, protected European market. The problem is a matter less of productivity than it is one of national policy that needs changing.

American defense policy will also need updating to take account of new vulnerabilities and opportunities. Defending against the growing number of nations with the capacity to produce and deliver weapons of mass destruction will require really effective missile defenses and improved intelligence capabilities. Accurately assessing the extent, significance, and future of changes in Soviet policy, taking advantage of opportunities as they occur, and preserving our alliances in a period of uncertainty will also be as important and urgent as they will be difficult.

Last, but not least, the Bush Administration must not only provide for our basic needs in domestic and foreign affairs, it must do so without driving the country further into debt.

Obviously we cannot continue to live beyond our means, accumulating global debts, spending an ever larger share of national income servicing them. But a divided government, fragmented fiscal processes, and add-on budgeting make it extremely difficult for us to spend less, earn more, save more, and pay as we go.

We desperately need a budget process that permits, promotes and, finally, requires fiscal discipline. Most democracies—including Britain, France, Germany, and Japan—have long since imposed on themselves procedures that guarantee coherence and responsibility in national fiscal policy. Some observers think disciplined budgeting is not possible under a system of separation of powers, but the new Administration must find a way—or face truly serious consequences.

Finally, Americans and the world have grown accustomed to having a President who inspired confidence and good humor: so George Bush and his Administration must not only solve these problems—they must leave us smiling. □

Mrs. Kirkpatrick is the former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations.

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Judge Ralph Winter
U.S. Court of Appeals, 2nd Circuit

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The Honorable Charles Fried
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- Property and the Constitution
- Regulation and Property: Allies or Enemies?
- Intellectual and Informational Property Rights
- Liability: The New "New Property"
- Ownership of Life

Anyone interested in the current state of the American legal order is invited to attend. Law students are particularly welcome. The campus is twenty minutes from Detroit Metro airport. Partial student travel scholarships are available. Information is available from the University of Michigan chapter on free housing for visiting students and also on travel and hotel arrangements.

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The Social Climber's

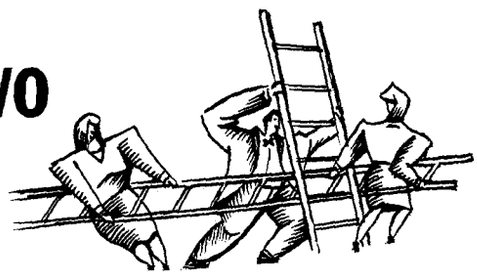
Tolstoy on Washington

"When Boris entered the room, Prince Andrey was listening to an old general, wearing his decorations, who was reporting something to Prince Andrey, with an expression of soldierly servility on his purple face. 'All right. Please wait!' he said to the general, speaking in Russian with the French accent which he used when he spoke with contempt. The moment he noticed Boris he stopped listening to the general, who trotted imploringly after him and begged to be heard, while Prince Andrey turned to Boris with a cheerful smile and a nod of the head.

"Boris now clearly understood—what he had already guessed—that side by side with the system of discipline and subordination which were laid down in the Army Regulations, there existed a different and more real system—the system which compelled a tightly laced general with a purple face to wait respectfully for his turn while a mere captain like Prince Andrey chatted with a mere second lieutenant like Boris. Boris decided at once that he could be guided not by the official system but by this other unwritten system."

—*War and Peace*, Part III, Chapter 9

A TALE OF TWO CITIES



TOM BETHELL

As it was in the Russian Army of 1812, so it is in Washington today. There is an official hierarchy of status and power, with the President at its pinnacle; and arrayed around him interrelated pyramids of official authority: Cabinet, Congress, the judiciary, the bureaucracy. But beside this official system there is another "unwritten" one, in which the relationships of power and status are unregulated, uncodified, and unacknowledged, but nonetheless real. This unofficial hierarchy is arguably more powerful than the official one. And it is widely believed in Washington that Katharine Graham, the chairman of the board of the *Washington Post*, stands at its pinnacle and has done so ever since Watergate. The continuous struggle for power between these two systems is the untold story of Washington.

The cliché has it that New York is Money and Washington is Power. There is truth to this, and important corollaries derive from it. Power cannot be bought. Anyone who comes to Washington and tries to buy power with money will soon be in trouble with the movers and shakers of the unofficial system. And this is what Republicans are only beginning to learn, ever so slowly.

The activities of unofficial Washington are often obliquely chronicled in the Style section of the *Washington Post*, the front section being reserved for a rather stuffier account of the official news. Thus one day in early December there was in the front section the "formal" news: "Hills to Be Trade Envoy, Savvy to the Ways of Washington." "Robert A. Mosbacher: Suave Oilman, Pragmatic Conservative." "Michael J. Boskin: A 'Reasonable Conservative' at CEA." And so on. The tone is neutral and, at this honeymoon stage, even mildly laudatory.

Meanwhile in the Style section we are given the always-intriguing story of the jockeying for place and power in the unofficial realm: "Chris Wallace to ABC News: Leaves NBC for Spot on Primetime Hour." The story that followed filled more column inches than the story on Mosbacher, the new Secretary of Commerce. And can there be any doubt that in contemporary Washington Chris Wallace (let alone Mike) "ranks" above the Commerce Secretary, in much the same way that Captain Andrey ranked above the Russian general?

"Wallace and ABC's [Sam] Donaldson had breakfast yesterday," we were solemnly told (the breakfast meetings of the Commerce Secretary are not considered newsworthy), and as is now customary the reporter told all that could be gleaned about TV salaries. (Print reporters keep a wary, some would say envious, eye on the emoluments of their TV counterparts.) "There were even reports Wallace faced a cut in salary from his reported $650,000 per year if he remained at NBC." (The Secretary of Commerce is paid $99,500 per year.)

Following the news about Wallace there was an interesting report about the "new lineup of NBC News correspondents," showing how the unofficial system informally adopts shadow-Cabinet formation—the better to subject all the key players of the official system to the relentless scrutiny that might, in time, reveal fatal chinks in political and ethical armor: "John Cochran leaves the State Department to take Wallace's job at the White House. Jim Miklaszewski, who has been number two at the Pentagon, will become number two at the White House . . . John Dancy will leave the Senate to replace Cochran at State . . ."

In his book *The Power Game: How Washington Works*, Hedrick Smith describes an interesting episode in the struggle between official and unofficial Washington, although he does not put

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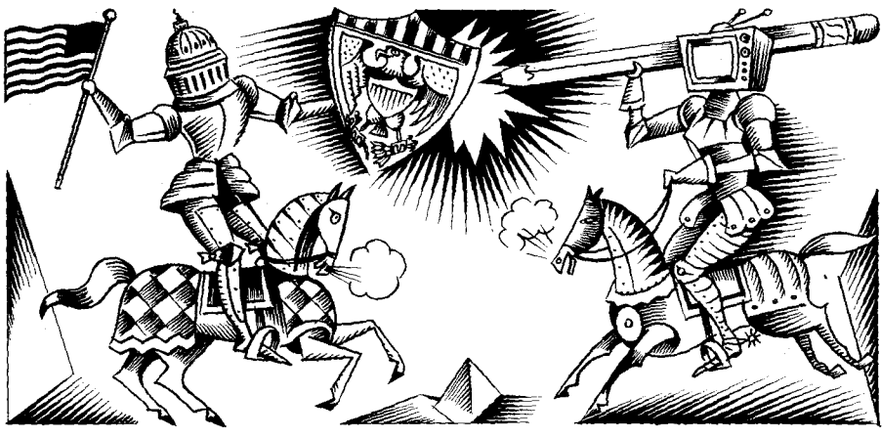
Guide to Washington

it in those terms or even see its real significance. Smith himself is not well placed to describe "the power game" because, as a former Washington bureau chief of the *New York Times*, he has been an important player within it. Accordingly, he does not acknowledge the existence of the unofficial system, or come to grips with the influential role the news media play in it. He follows current media convention by representing official Washington types as image-manipulators and journalists as honest brokers, doing their best not to be taken in by those who would "script the video Presidency."

By the end of 1981, Smith relates, Nancy Reagan had become a "terrible political liability" to her husband because the press was portraying her as a "frivolous clothes-horse who hobnobbed with the idle, partygoing rich." She had "stirred up a hornet's nest by putting the arm on Republican fatcats for $800,000 in private donations to spruce up the White House mansion." (Why is the word "mansion" tacked on there, incidentally?) Then came another "hullabaloo" because she bought that set of gilt-edged china. And so on. In response, "Reagan strategists" held meeting after meeting "to figure out how to fix her rich-girl image." Eventually they hit on something: an appearance before The Gridiron Club, described by Smith as "an elitist social club of sixty print journalists," whose annual spring dinner is "one of the high tribal rites of Washington insiders."

At a Gridiron dinner, club members appear on stage and proceed to "roast" the current crop of politicians with skits which, by tradition, "singe but don't burn." By way of response, in recent years, leading politicians have mounted the stage and added a little self-mockery to the quota already heaped on them. Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew did a piano duet parodying their upcoming "Southern strategy." Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter jitterbugged on stage. "For some politicians," as Smith thoughtfully puts it, "the Gridiron has been a priceless forum for reshaping their images and



reputations by showing a human side, an ability to laugh at themselves, which is the principal formula of success at the dinner."

Notice what is going on here. The President and his top appointees troop off to the journalists' turf, where they are mocked by journalists. By way of riposte, the politicians mock themselves. Who has the upper hand? Imagine some medieval realm where the jesters maintain a separate court, enjoying independence from the monarch (higher salaries, even!), and every year, by tradition, the King and Queen are expected to appear at the Jesters' Court, dress up in clown suits, and do their best to amuse the jesters. Who has the power in this realm?

"But for a sheer turnaround—and a

Du Coté de chez Pam

For Democrats in internal exile, the hot center is Pamela Harriman's Georgetown mansion, where all those stimulating "issues dinners" take place. Mrs. Harriman, the widow of Averell Harriman, has also been married to Randolph Churchill and Leland Hayward. She has had especially good luck nabbing high-ranking Soviets, from Raisa Gorbachev on down, for her soirées.

Mrs. Harriman is the Duchess of the Democratic Party. As journalist Henry Fairlie said in a *New Republic* profile last fall, "She sensibly saw that cancer, multiple sclerosis, and the rest were old hat," and so "she searched for some neglected invalids and in 1980 spotted the Democratic Party." She co-founded (with Stuart Eizenstat) Democrats for the Eighties, better known as Pam-PAC.

At a less Olympian height, Madelein Albright, the Dukakis foreign-policy advisor, Joan Bingham, widow of Worth Bingham of the *Louisville Courier-Journal* family, and the Smith Bagleys will also be entertaining Democrats in Georgetown. Bagley, a Reynolds tobacco heir, and his first wife, Vicki, bombed socially in the Carter years. Now he's married to the more issues-oriented Elizabeth, and they give issues-oriented dinners for the Center for National Policy.

Democrats are officially in exile. But the unofficial picture is brighter. Some find Bush *simpatico*. "The first Reagan Adminsitration," said Judith Kipper of Brookings, "was an aberration. It was them versus us. But they moved away from that evil-empire talk. And now we're back to the normal center." —CH

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political facelift—no Gridiron guest in recent years has outdone Nancy Reagan," Hedrick Smith continues. At the planning stage, it had been proposed that she would appear for the dinner, the journalists would "parody" her wardrobe, then perhaps she might like to "respond" by "making fun" of the press? "Wisely," Smith relates, she "sidestepped a sparring match" with the elite ones. (Is he telling us there's no way you can win that contest?) Instead, the First Lady decided, like Nixon and Agnew, Jimmy and Rosalynn, to mock herself, appearing "in an outlandish getup, an aqua skirt with red and yellow flowers held together by safety pins," and a "floppy feathered hat." Second-Hand Clothes!

There was a moment of "incredulous silence," Smith reports. No one had thought, you see, that Mrs. Reagan had "any self-mockery in her." Then, when they realized what they were seeing, the audience leaped to its feet and applauded wildly. It's not hard to see why the journalists were so delighted. In mocking herself Nancy Reagan was tacitly running up the white flag. Clearly the press criticism had unnerved her and she wanted it to stop. She might as well have come on stage with her hands up. As her "Washington-wise" press secretary, Sheila Tate, so delicately put it to Smith: "The point was that she cared what other people thought of her and she showed it." Precisely.

Smith deduces a "cardinal rule" of Washington politics from this episode: "Play up a vulnerability and dispose of it by mocking your own foibles." One would like to see the journalists put in a position where they felt obliged to do the same thing. Notice, incidentally, that Nancy Reagan's earlier, unflattering "image" is represented as something that inevitably belonged to her, rather than something that was deliberately attached to her by aggressive journalists waging all-out war on the White House.

In his book *Behind the Scenes*, White House counselor Michael K. Deaver shows, perhaps unwittingly, that Nancy Reagan was well aware of the unofficial system, and the real power that it wielded. Nancy had a "far keener sense of fame" than her husband, was "more aware of the finer things," and was "not uncomfortable among free spirits and intellectuals," phrases showing that Deaver shared Nancy's outlook. She "enjoys reaching out to new people of whatever political coloring," and it was she who "pushed everybody on the Geneva summit."

And so it came to pass that Deaver "arranged" for Nancy to meet Katharine Graham herself, in person, at Mrs. Graham's summer home on Martha's Vineyard. There Nancy met Jackie Onassis and "had the time of her life." Deaver's summary of this occasion is perfect. "She was the little girl with her nose pressed up against the candy-store window," an extraordinary comment to make about the official First Lady. It implies, of course, that in there, on the other side of the glass, there was another system, with its own power arrangements and its own First Lady, and that Nancy Reagan knew it.

BUSH NEWCOMERS should know, if they have not already heard, that Washington is a town where the laws of libel don't apply (as long as you are a public figure), and that for the Washington press corps this is the Robber Baron Era all over again. For the news media are the Robber Barons of Reputation, affecting powerlessness yet perennially ascribing inordinate power to those they attack, and accustomed to treating their own power as though it were simple moral authority.

A couple of weeks after George Bush's victory, the *Washington Post*'s national political correspondent, David S. Broder, was awarded a Fourth Estate Award for "distinguished service to American journalism." In his speech Broder warned colleagues that "we enjoy a privilege that few others on this planet share"—freedom from government regulation. "We are outside the system of checks and balances that are part of our constitutional structure of government," he said. In return for this favor, he suggested, "we damn well better make it clear we are not a part of government, and not a part of a Washington insiders' clique."

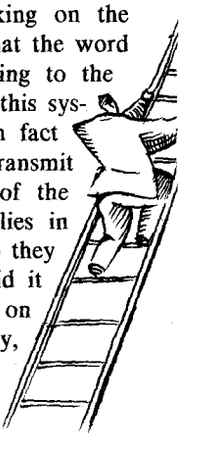
These remarks were later endorsed by the *Washington Post*'s ombudsman, Richard Harwood, who sorrowfully enumerated a "mighty host of switch hitters" who have moved from government to journalism. A couple of months earlier, however, Harwood had written a column for the *Post* entitled "The Press Should Set the Agenda," in which he quoted Broder as saying (apropos of the presidential campaign): "The premise we have to challenge as journalists is that the candidates have the exclusive right to control the dialogue." And that indeed more closely resembled what journalists really do believe.

How "outsiders" who are "irreverent" and "impudent" can set the agenda of national politics is not clear. It seems improbable, and anyone who understands the Washington press corps (as Broder does, of course) knows that journalists in fact are very far from being irreverent outsiders, and have no intention of becoming such.

The struggle between official and unofficial Washington is precisely over the question: Who sets the agenda? Right now, as the Bush Administration takes over in Washington, the top item on the unofficial agenda is: One Trillion Dollars Is Not Enough! The unofficials talk demurely about "the deficit." What they mean is "New Monies Needed," as the *Washington Post* put it in a headline. More Money Must Be Sent To Washington! This has developed into an intense power struggle because Bush explicitly and vigorously campaigned against new taxes. So getting him to change his mind has become a real challenge to unofficial Washington.

An irony of the current struggle is that the unofficial, unregulated system represents Inside-the-Beltway interests and seeks to increase the regulation of everyone else's lives. The official system, at least since the election of President Reagan, and continuing now with the election of George Bush, derives its legitimacy from the electorate outside the Beltway and generally seeks to increase liberty and decrease regulation.

Nonetheless, it is a fact that Republicans, once in Washington, have tended to be timid about taking on the unofficial system (that's what the word "pragmatic" means—deferring to the unacknowledged power of this system). Republicans could in fact use media channels to transmit messages over the heads of the Beltway crowd to their allies in the heartland, but rarely do they try this. Reagan himself did it to some extent, but usually on behalf of his own popularity,



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The Rules of the Washington Game

(Any Number Can Play, Newcomers Welcome)

WASHINGTON IS a board game that any number can play [see "Washington Rollercoaster Ride," p. 36]. Entry onto the board is completely unregulated. No questions will be asked about your background, your family, the size of your bank account. It doesn't matter that you didn't go to Harvard or Yale, or that you don't have a law degree. Performance is the only criterion. In that sense Washington is a truly democratic, egalitarian city. *Who* you know can get you only so far. Don't say, "As Richard Perle was telling me the other day . . ." because it won't get you anywhere. Say you don't know Richard Perle but he is wrong, wrong, wrong, and people will listen.

It is important to go to social functions when you first arrive (and virtually all that are held in hotels can be gate-crashed) because there you can meet people and impress them with your brilliance. Again, they will listen. As Sally Quinn (now married to *Washington Post* Executive Editor Ben Bradlee) wrote in her 1974 article about Steve Martindale, a penniless newcomer from Idaho who managed to get Henry Kissinger to come to dinner at his house, "Washington is about the only town in the world where the word 'nouveau' is laudatory."

How, then, to be noticed? By your opinions. But here you must be on your guard. According to Dimitri Simes, a Soviet expert who arrived here in the mid Seventies and is now with the Carnegie Endowment, opinions should never be too strongly expressed—a good rule of thumb. And they should never stray too far from the center. Political etiquette dictates opinions that are slightly to the left of center on social and domestic issues; on defense matters it is okay to be the thinking-man's moderate hawk. These are roughly the positions of the *Washington Post*'s editorial page; they are also positions that tend to maximize government spending on all fronts.

Say that the "problem of the deficit realistically has to be faced," that "a note of caution is in order" in "our dealings with the Soviets." You are for a *small* tax increase, and you support continued arms-control negotiations; you are skeptical about Strategic Defense, distressed about the plight of the homeless, worried about the health of Justice Brennan, concerned about the fate of Mikhail Gorbachev and his "program." And so on.

So how do you separate yourself from the crowd? The problem with liberal opinion today is that it aspires to repetition. Of course you might want to consider a move to the right. But be discreet about it. If Richard Viguerie comes into the room, pretend you don't know him, or, if cornered, pretend to recognize him from a Style-section profile. Now you're on your own—take it from there. —TB

only rarely to support specific policies.

The problem is that all too frequently Republicans have come to Washington unprepared for the power struggle that faces them. They have not begun to understand how "the power game" is played, and frequently they have been intimidated by their first sight of it—perhaps a pack of baying reporters, or worse still, a camera crew on the lawn outside the house at 7 A.M. Or the nightmare question: "According to your financial-disclosure statement, sir . . . but it says here . . . Could you clarify, for the record?"

We are now seeing "something radically different from reporting, in the sense of passing along information," Joe Sobran wrote in a recent column. "The media are less like a neutral lens than a spotlight that fixes our attention on chosen objects while casting others into total darkness. At times they are like a little boy with a magnifying glass. The passerby may think he's just looking at a bug on the sidewalk, when he's actually frying it to death."

Republicans are particularly unlikely to be prepared for this if they have "bought" their way into positions of power, through a combination of money and connections rather than a real interest in policy. On the face of it, this does seem to be the case with Robert Mosbacher. We read in the *Washington Post* that he "amassed a net worth estimated at more than $150 million" in the Texas oil business, and then "helped raise money for Bush's House and Senate races. He later served as chief fundraiser for President Ford's 1976 campaign and for Bush's 1980 and 1988 campaigns." *Post* readers are reassured that he is a "thoroughly non-ideological conservative." One wonders what discussions he and Bush have had about the Department of Commerce.

In becoming a member of the Cabinet, Mosbacher will have to sign so many disclosure forms and statements that if any subsequent discrepancies arise between some detail in his claims and what the record shows, he will be an obvious target for embarrassment. The media (and their informal allies) now run what amount to full-time audit operations on their adversaries in the official sector. But then again, Mosbacher could decide to see things "pragmatically" and so avoid becoming an adversary in the first place. It is clear by now that strict scrutiny (as the treatment of Ed Meese, Bill Casey, and others shows) is not impartial but reserved for those who stubbornly defy conventional Beltway wisdom.

As a rule, then, the problem is far worse for Republicans. Power in Washington legitimately derives from votes, from brains, from ideas, and from communications skills. In such a milieu, the attempt to purchase power is seen above all as gauche. Those who try it should prepare for media audits.

Both William Bennett, the former Secretary of Education, and former UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick showed that it is nonetheless possible for conservatives to survive, indeed flourish, in Washington. It is no coincidence that both had been Democrats. The key is to understand the rules of scrutiny by which you will have to live. Bennett said that journalists treat newcomers in Washington as sharks treat a foreign object in the water: they graze it, and turn to see if it bleeds. "Don't bleed in public," Bennett said. "Stand your ground."

(Text continues on page 40; for board game, turn to page 36)

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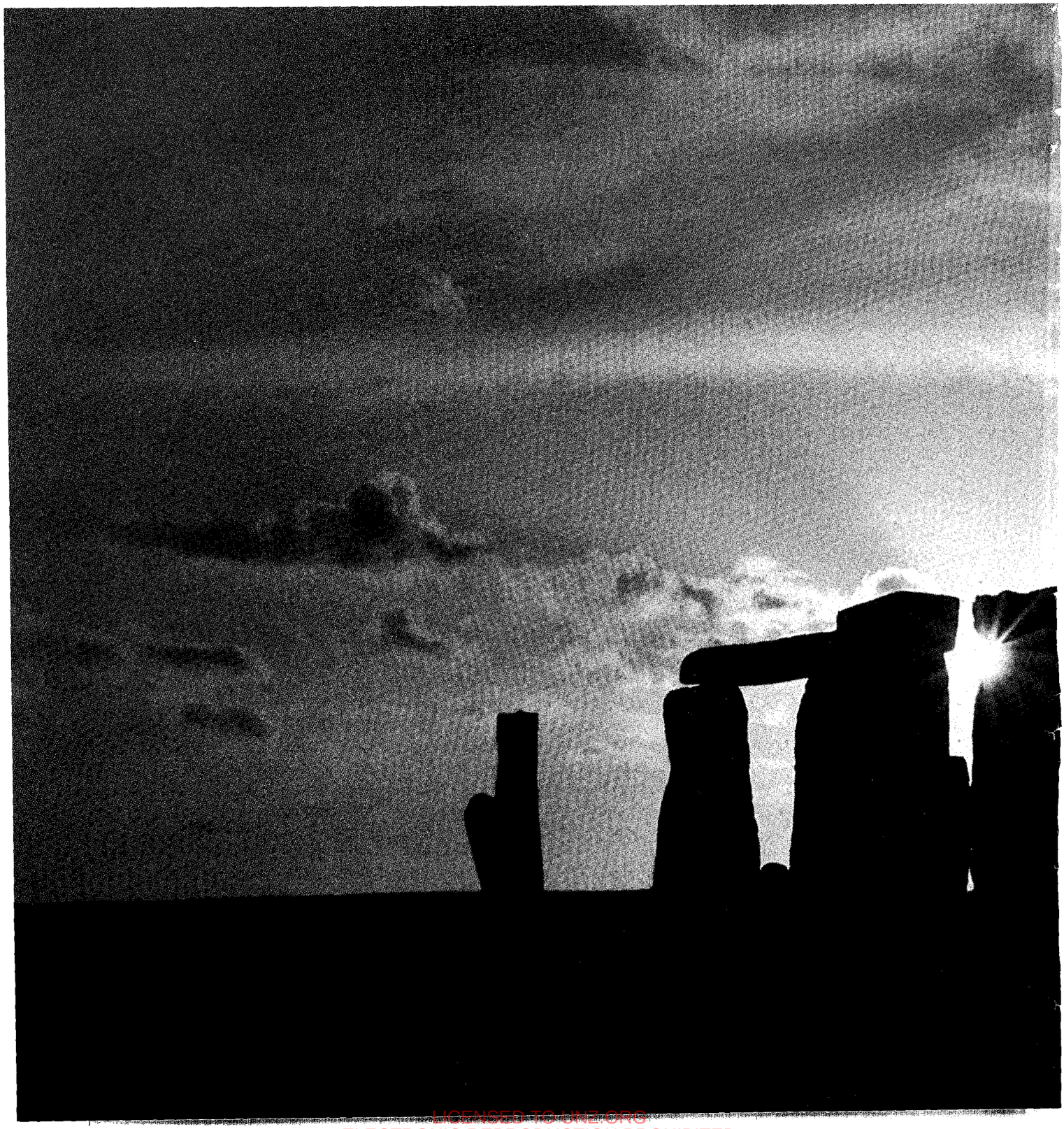
STONEHENGE AND THE SPACE TELESCOPE

Over 4,100 years ago a Neolithic people built a remarkable monument on the Salisbury Plain in what is now southern England. As an engineering feat alone, Stonehenge stands as one of the wonders of the world. But a recent discovery has revealed that it served not only as a temple, but as an astronomical computer.

We know very little about the life of the people who built Stonehenge. But one thing that has become increasingly evident is that they were far more sophisticated than was previously believed. Even though they



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worked only with Stone Age technology, they built a monument which apparently acted as an astronomical clock. With Stonehenge they could predict eclipses, the exact days of the solstices, the long-term cycles of the moon and sun, and other important heavenly events. They could begin to understand that the universe had order and how it worked.

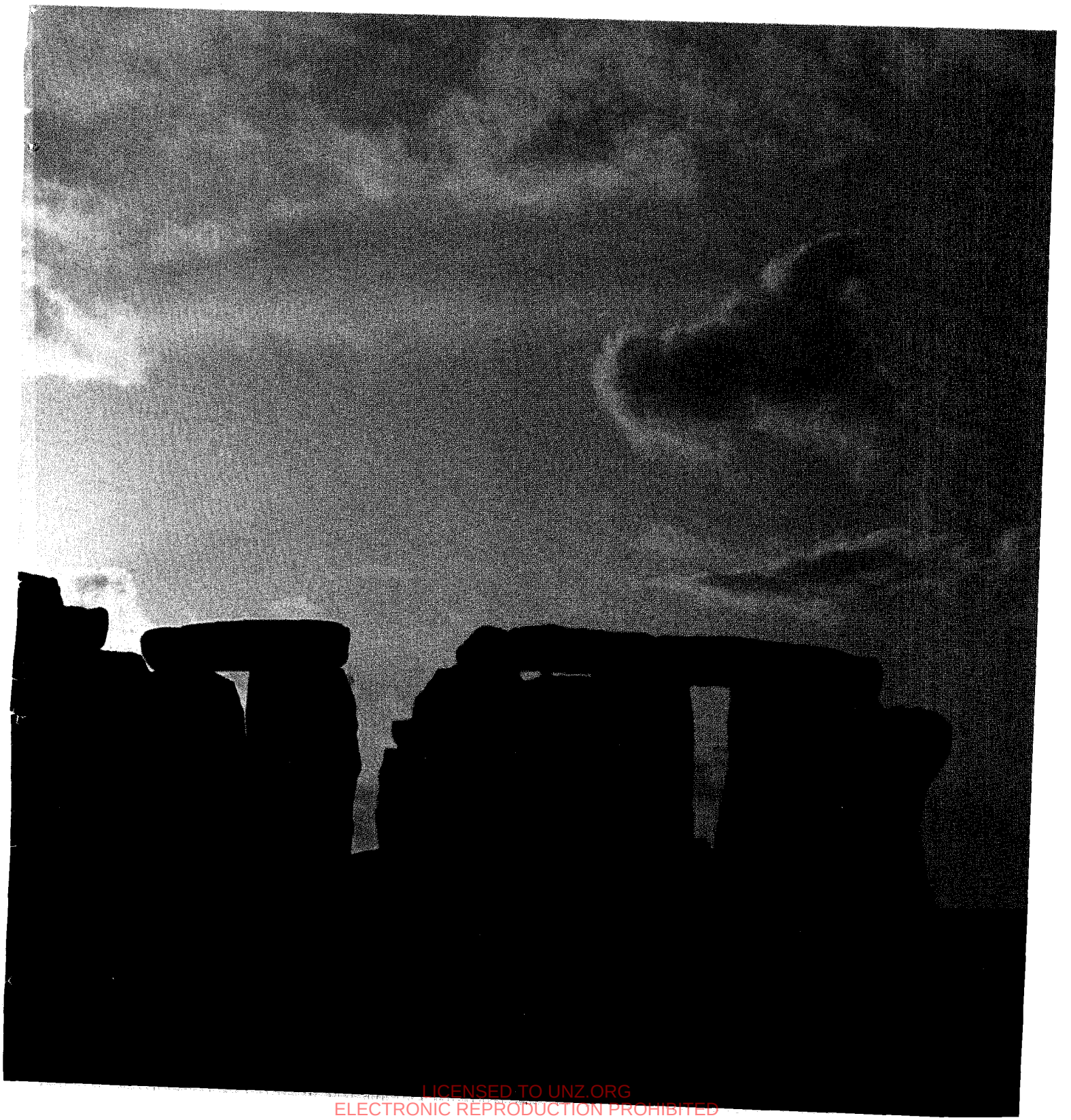
The need to understand the workings of the universe is very ancient in man. One might even say that it is instinctual, that it is part of what makes us human.

A leap of forty-one centuries and we find ourselves still confronted with the same questions that drove the prehistoric Britons to build Stonehenge. How does the universe work? How did it begin? Will it ever end?

The Hubble Space Telescope will help us solve these primeval mysteries. Once in Earth orbit, the telescope will be able to detect objects as far as fourteen billion light-years away, which is to see fourteen billion years into the past; past the birth of the Earth; past the birth of our galaxy; to the very beginning of time.

The Space Telescope represents a momentous leap in the history of mankind. The builders of Stonehenge must have felt themselves on the verge of the same kind of moment as they discovered that creation actually had order. Within our own grasp is a view of the creation itself.

Lockheed
Giving shape to imagination.



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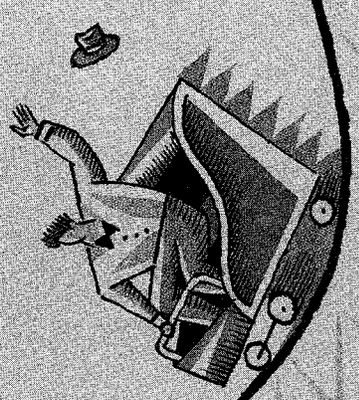
WASHINGTON ROLLERCOASTER RIDE

You disclose classified info off the record. UP
It stays off the record. DOWN

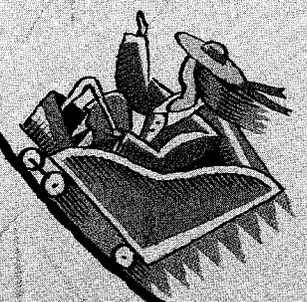
You are invited by Mrs. Bush to chair a literacy panel. UP
Phyllis Schlafly is your co-chair. DOWN

A Style profile reveals that, as a busy officeholder, you now rent out your beachfront holiday villa in Hawaii. UP
To Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos. DOWN

You are asked to appear on a current-affairs TV program. UP
Geraldo Rivera is the host. DOWN

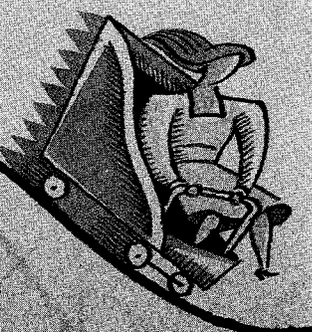


You are blackballed from an exclusive Washington club. DOWN
The *Washington Post* reveals that it refuses to admit women. UP
It admits women and you re-apply. UP
A new member, Susan Mary Alsop, blackballs you again. OUT OF GAME



You are appointed Ambassador to Burkina Faso. DOWN
Your appointment is put on hold by Senator Jesse Helms. UP

You are invited to a reception at the South African Embassy. DOWN
But are mistakenly arrested as a protestor on the way in. UP



You receive invitations from the Mosbachers and Pamela Harriman for the same date. UP
You accept the Mosbachers. DOWN

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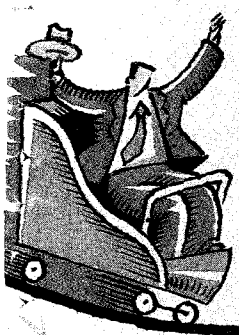
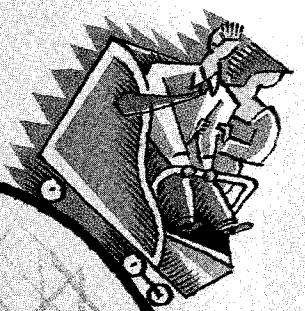
You are appointed President Bush's advisor on terrorism. **UP**
Your plane is hijacked. **DOWN**





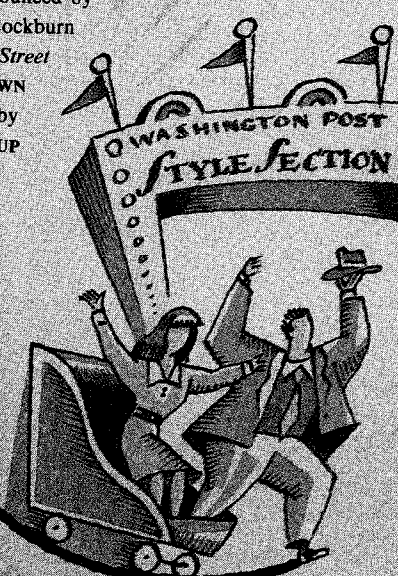
You are invited to a state dinner at the White House. **UP**
The guest of honor is Kurt Waldheim. **DOWN**

The President recognizes you at a press conference. **UP**
You give your affiliation: the *Manchester Union Leader*. **DOWN**
Nonetheless, your question forces the President into a gaffe. **UP**

Dan Quayle invites you to play golf. **UP**
You accept. **DOWN**

You are endorsed for the 1992 Democratic presidential nomination. **UP**
By *The New Republic*. **DOWN**

You write a book saying the Soviet economy is in shambles. **DOWN**
It is denounced by Alexander Cockburn in the *Wall Street Journal*. **DOWN**
But praised by Gorbachev. **UP**



Mike Wallace calls. **UP**
And he wants you to appear on *60 Minutes*. **UP**
But he's evasive about the topic. **DOWN**
He calls back: the camera crew is outside your office. **GO DIRECTLY TO JAIL**

You are unfavorably mentioned by Jack Nelson on *Washington Week in Review*. **DOWN**
Nobody was watching. **UP**

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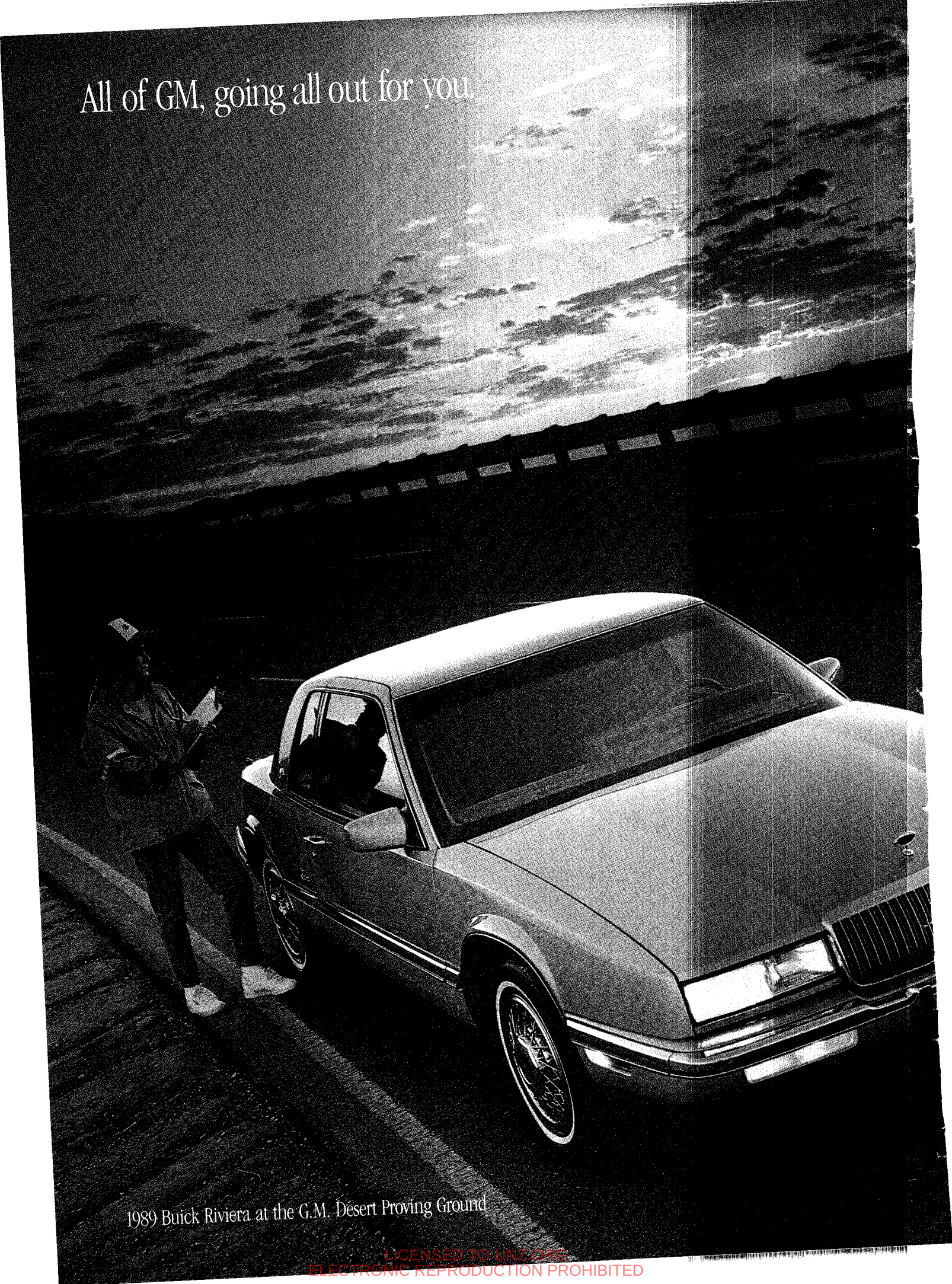

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"Good looking car, but my job is to test-drive it...see how she stands up to hard driving, weather, abuse, and lots and lots of miles. How she handles the curves, responds to all sorts of driving conditions. Out here, I'm looking for trouble...so that later our customers won't have any."

Fact: 3 GM makes were rated as the best-built 1988 American cars by their owners in the latest J.D. Power Initial Quality Survey, based on the first three months of ownership.

GM

MARK OF EXCELLENCE

Chevrolet, Pontiac, Oldsmobile, Buick, Cadillac, GMC Truck

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SOCIAL CLIMBER'S GUIDE
(Continued from page 33)

He thought it had helped him (and Mrs. Kirkpatrick) to have been at a university as a conservative in the decade following the mid Sixties. "When you meet your first phalanx of reporters on attack you are looking at your old graduate students," he said. If you could handle them you can handle the reporters. "But your average Republican businessman has probably not encountered anything like it." So he is tempted to capitulate—perhaps by putting on the equivalent of a clown suit at the Gridiron dinner.

The game *can* be won, but we may need a new and younger breed of Republican in Washington to win it. And there is the intriguing possibility that the ethics and disclosure laws put on the books specifically to impede the trading of money and power will hasten the arrival of that younger breed.

According to Donald Devine, the former director of the Office of Personnel Management (charged with overseeing the various ethics-in-government regulations), the rules were basically written by Democrats to smooth the path for members of the liberal-Democratic professoriate heading (they then thought) for official Washington. It would be an irony indeed if these laws ended up driving away businessmen, the most compliant and docile of Republicans, and thereby smoothing the path for younger and more ideological Republicans—people who know their own mind, aren't afraid of sharks, and won't bleed in the water.

Superficially, the approaching conflict between the Bush Administration and the unofficial government doesn't seem promising, because at the top level so many of the people Bush has brought with him, particularly Jim Baker, are alumni from the GOP in its most abject phase—the Ford Era. But further down in the ranks the picture looks brighter. Perhaps some of these young conservatives can get together with the Naderites to redraft the most recent ethics bill—the one that Reagan vetoed and that Bush has said he wants to sign. If it is strict enough, maybe Republican businessmen really will cease regarding government service as a paid vacation, the GOP will be transformed, and the power game in Washington will at last be played on level turf. □

The Embassy Party as Geopolitical Stethoscope

MODERN COMMUNICATIONS did to ambassadors what gunpowder did to swords: reduced them to a ceremonial function. Before the telegraph, in the days of sail, when the round-trip time for diplomatic messages may have been months, ambassadors made decisions solo, based on their judgment and on their personal relationship with their country's head of state. So they had real power. Today they are glorified "hotel managers," in the words of a fairly prominent Reagan appointee. In Washington, there is no particular reason for the politically ambitious to go to embassy parties, other than free food (of which there is already a superabundance). Diplomats, in short, today rank below Media.

Sondra Gotlieb, wife of the former Canadian ambassador in Washington, tried to resolve this problem of tacit superannuation by inviting Media to her parties, seating all manner of hacks, spongers, and unruly Brits at her table. For a while she was rewarded with an occasional Op-Ed column in the *Washington Post*, a signal honor. Then one day she slapped a servant in front of Media, and it was News. Back to Square One for the ambitious Sondra. (Slapping Etiquette: You can slap "up" [e.g., your boss]—especially in front of Media—but never "down.")

The gusto with which an embassy entertains may nonetheless be an unwitting indicator of instability on the home front. In the Ford and Carter years, the Iranians outdid themselves in the lavishness of their functions on Embassy Row. The Shah's man in Washington, Ardeshir Zahedi, was for a while the talk of the town. But this did not forestall the revolution that soon followed. Whereupon Ardeshir was heard from no more.

By 1978, a little late to be sure, the Washington representatives of Anastasio Somoza had begun to invite unsuspecting journalists to soirées at the Nicaraguan embassy—a sudden flurry of eleventh-hour ingratiation. The Sandinistas stormed into Managua in July 1979.

Next to the former Iranian embassy stands the South African embassy. There have been many protests outside it, but social secretaries within it do not appear to have been abnormally busy of late. Perhaps, then, the Pretorian home front is more stable than some believe and others hope.

Can we use this hitherto unnoticed social stethoscope for early-warning detection of political tremors abroad? Have any embassies been putting on a special effort lately? Well, come to think of it, the most publicized social event in Washington in recent years was held at the Soviet embassy in December 1987. Mikhail Gorbachev himself was the host. About fifty "intellectuals" and arts trendies received the coveted invitations (oh, to have been a fly on the Russian wall when *that* list was drawn up), among them William Styron, Norman Mailer, Yoko Ono, Paul Newman, John Denver, George Kennan, Carl Sagan, and Joyce Carol Oates. Miss Oates could scarcely contain schoolgirlish excitement at meeting "one of the world's most powerful men, indeed the world's supreme Communist leader . . . a person of surpassing integrity; a man of utmost sincerity."

"And then there was a murmur of excitement," she wrote with Biblical fervor in *The New York Times Magazine*, "and the Gorbachevs were entering the room, and it was as if royalty had appeared in our midst; or [topping royalty] media celebrities whose actual faces—youthful, high-colored, smiling, assured—were considerably more attractive than their reproductions." And Gorbachev told the novelist that he was "a great admirer" of her work.

Yes, but will he go the way of Ardeshir Zahedi? —TB

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THE ISSUES GAME

CHARLOTTE HAYS

SOCIAL LIFE in Washington revolves around the issues. Democrats intuitively know this; Republicans usually don't.

One reason for the discrepancy is that Republicans, despite their occupancy of the White House for 16 out of the last twenty years, remain attuned to the values of the heartland, where people go to parties to show off their new clothes, discuss china patterns, and chitchat about who's sleeping with whom. Alas, these Republicans often show up in Washington salons dressed in all the wrong issues, and are only too grateful when the cosmopolitan Democrats set them straight. Let's call this the Issues Game.

A Georgetown socialite and former anti-war activist, Jennifer Phillips, stirred up a minor tempest in 1986 when, in an exclusive interview with veteran social reporter Susan Watters of *W*, she inadvertently revealed some of the Game's well-kept secrets. The article was unusually frank, indicating as few reports do the extent to which Democrats still set the tone in Washington.

"Phillips's effort to convert Reagan people," Miss Watters wrote, "is a slow and mostly social effort. She has lobbied Reagan pal Holmes Tuttle on the merits of federally subsidized abortion. She has invited Treasury Secretary James Baker, Federal Reserve Board Chairman Paul Volcker, and influential former White House officials, such as Michael Deaver and William French Smith, over for dinner to hear South Americans argue for reduced American involvement in Central America."

The article described how Mrs. Phillips introduced the Michael Deavers to the reluctant literati of Martha's Vineyard. William Styron and the late Lillian Hellman were the main attractions. Getting the Deavers an invitation had required courage: "Some Vineyard friends began by taking a position on whether they were going to eat a meal with Mike Deaver," Mrs. Phillips recalled. "It was like asking people to cross a picket line or eat at a segregated lunch counter." (Eternally grateful, Deaver later gave a glowing account of the luncheon in his autobiography, lamenting that poor Nancy Reagan, who would have loved it, wasn't there. He was unconcerned that six guests had walked out in apparent protest of Reagan Administration policies.)

As Mrs. Phillips described them in the article, the Reagan Republicans were touchingly innocent: "The Reagan people came to Washington as a gregarious, open, balanced group of people who felt they were not committing a sin by getting to know people. They came to work, but also to party. And because they partied socially, they became exposed to ideas and maybe their ideas changed." One person Mrs. Phillips "reformed" was USIA Director Charles Z. Wick, whose hardline position on the Soviet Union became "more sophisticated" and "more serious" under Mrs. Phillips's tutelage.

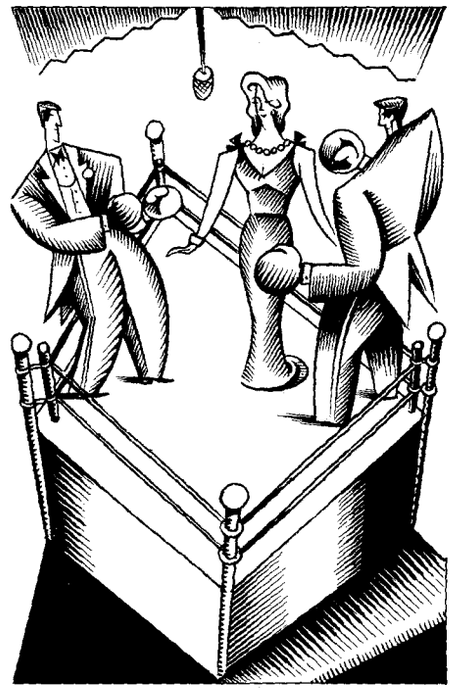
As might be expected, Jennifer Phillips was furious with Susan Watters for the article. A key strategy of the Issues Game: don't let your pigeon know what's going on. Recently, Mrs. Phillips told me that she's opting out of the Game. "I'm getting tired of bringing people together with whom I do not agree, hoping that somehow some things will take place." When asked if Mrs. Reagan had been influenced by socializing with liberals, Mrs. Phillips replied negatively, adding, however, that Mrs. Reagan is a "responsive" person.

After indicating that she's not going to tutor Republicans any more, Mrs. Phillips added that, yes, she might like to entertain her friends in the Bush Administration, mentioning "Jimmy" Baker in this context. Of all those closest to Bush, Baker appears to be far and away the favorite of the Washington hostesses. (Lee Atwater is the least favorite.)

While some socialites play the Issues Game to influence policy, others play it because it's the only game in town. One unlikely devotee of the issues is Steve Martindale, a social phenomenon immortalized in a 1974 Sally Quinn article on social climbing in Washington. He is a moderate Republican, a man without any obvious ideological bent at all. Society is his thing.

But he professed ardent interest in the issues, chatting knowledgeably about newspaper columnists and the future of the Democratic Party. He had the correct party line on everything from George Bush—let's hope he's a closet moderate—to the columns of Rowland Evans and Robert Novak —the column is too conservative; Novak is the dark prince, while Evans is a patrician Yalie ill-matched with his partner. "Frankly," Martindale sighed, clinking the ice in a Campari and soda, "we always wonder about Evans and Novak. I love Rowlie but you have the feeling that Jack Kemp writes their columns for them, and that doesn't go over as well as what Meg Greenfield does at the *Washington Post*." Plainly, Mr. Martindale chooses opinions with the same care that Jeeves devotes to ties.

Another man who understands how issues and social status are related in Washington is the liberal commentator Hodding Carter. According to Carter, people fail socially in Washington when they "cease to be seen as relevant to anything important. You must be seen as a player rather than somebody with a past reputation." Some-



Miss Hays is a feature writer with the Life! section of the Washington Times.

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George Will: In or Out?

A RECENT issue of *W* devoted to "Bush Town," as it now calls Washington, put George Will, a frequent guest at the Reagan White House, on the "Who's Out" list—along with other *passé* Reagan enthusiasms like Frank Sinatra, Robin Weir (former First Hairdresser), and the British royal family.

As a polemicist, Will has been merciless to George Bush, saying early in the presidential campaign that he detected the "tinny 'arf' of a lap dog" in the Vice President. While Washington is a town where people attack each other by day and break bread together by night, sources say that Bush hasn't forgiven Will.

But Washington is a town where being "out" can be very "in." Will has won the Outsider Status journalists claim to covet. Henry Catto, a Bush intimate who made the "Who's In" list in the same issue of *W*, told me that George Will would be one of his ideal dinner guests. (Another one was Meg Greenfield of the *Washington Post*.) And, if invitations from the Bushes aren't forthcoming, well . . . that's regrettable, but then maybe Will won't invite them to dinner either. —CH

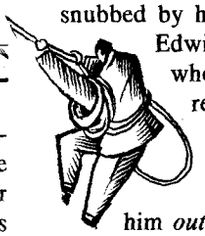
White House Invitations

GUEST LISTS for state dinners are mostly a matter of formula. The first slots go to the foreign guest and his entourage, with their U.S. counterparts receiving the next ones. If the foreign visitor brings his agriculture secretary, the White House invites ours. Various governmental entities like the State Department, the National Security Council, and the White House Office of Public Liaison control the next tier of invitations. By the time it reaches the President and First Lady, sometimes only about ten slots—twenty people—remain for them to fill.

It's the last batch of guests who reflect the personal taste of the First Family, which in the Reagan years tended toward people like socialite C. Z. Guest, the Countess de Ravenal, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, and Andy Warhol. Tom Wolfe, Sam Donaldson (consistently negative toward the Administration), and novelist Fernanda Eberstadt have also been invited.

The Bushes' guest lists will include fewer Hollywood types than the Reagans, but country-and-western singers like Loretta Lynn are likely to receive invitations to the White House. Fashion designers will also be out. Sources say more Democrats will be invited.

As for White House entertaining in general, it will be aristo comfy—horseshoes on the lawn with old family friends. For those less formal Sunday lunches, the President will probably continue to wear his red blazer, the WASP idea of dressing wild and crazy. —CH



times the status-conscious fail to perceive somebody's historical significance during his life, Carter admitted. "The history books will have the last laugh, but we'll all be dead then," he said, without adding the obvious: Dead people don't go to parties.

A member of a Southern newspaper family, Carter was the State Department spokesman whose face became famous on TV during the Iranian hostage crisis. Carter and Jody Powell are among the handful of Jimmy Carter officials who've maintained their status in Washington. What's the secret? "We went that old visibility route and became part of the flotsam and jetsam of the commentary set," said Carter, "or maybe we're just amiable boys."

With Washington full of wily Democrats waiting to manipulate them on the issues, should Republicans venture out on the social circuit at all? A public figure who won't trim can be left out in the cold. Patrick Buchanan is the only right-winger not in an Administration post who's in the Green Book, Washington's social register. Even so, Buchanan is regarded as beyond the pale by many hostesses. "He's very charming," said a Georgetown hostess with a famous name, "but honestly! He's too much!" In the peculiar social atmosphere of Washington, the dowager's "Not our class, dear" has been replaced by "Not our ideology, dear." The effect is the same.

True believers face sticky situations. Once, for example, William Bennett was going to a social function and some pro-life activists were demonstrating nearby. Engaging a fellow guest in conversation, Bennett remarked favorably on the demonstrators. Appalled, the man asked Bennett if he actually supported those awful people. "I said, 'You bet I'm on their side,' and I got a huffy response," Bennett recalled.

As an aid to unwary elephants, he offered what he calls Bennett's Axiom: "Unless it is under explicitly conservative auspices, the social event will be culturally liberal. Be careful. Be selective. And there are great blessings to staying at home with your family."

If you feel you must go out, it is helpful to know that you only have to stay at a function seven minutes to get credit. One Cabinet couple realized this early on and sometimes made five or six parties in an evening.

Some have theorized that White House Chief of Staff Donald Regan hurt himself by not going out socially. He had few friends on the Washington circuit when he ran into trouble with Nancy Reagan. Reportedly genial and relaxed in private, he was called "Fortress Regan" by socialites who felt snubbed by him. On the other hand, Edwin and Ursula Meese, who love to go to parties, received a lot of sympathy during Meese's troubles. But his socializing couldn't keep him *out* of trouble. His conservatism outweighed his amiability. Not our ideology, dear.

We'll know the Republicans are winning when Georgetown hostesses start throwing fundraisers for the Contras and Jonas Savimbi. □

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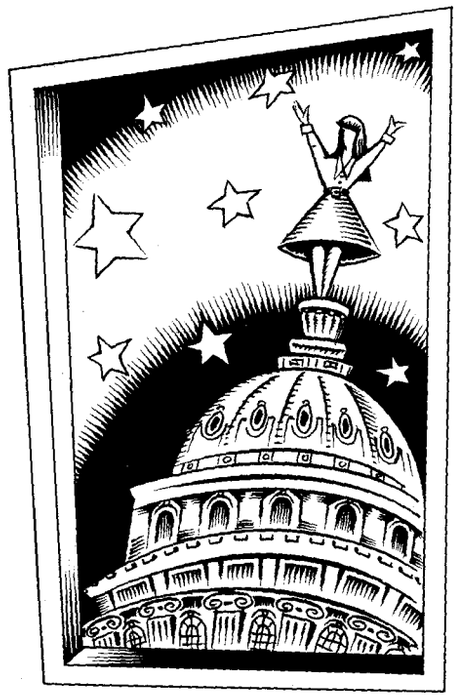

WHAT EVERY YOUNG WOMAN SHOULD KNOW

MARIANNE SZEGEDY-MASZAK

A SOCIAL INSIDER in Washington describes two friends who arrived with plenty of money and connections and entertained for the simple pleasure of being with friends. "Because they got involved socially without anything to gain, people wondered what the hell they were up to." *Lesson One: Inviting people over because you like them is anti-social. Entertaining in Washington is no laughing matter.*

So how does a young woman make it onto page one of the Style section? Easy. She should be brilliant, witty, charming, beautiful, and in possession of a ten-point plan to solve Mexico's debt problem. Second question: How does an *ordinary* young woman make it into the Style section? Here, like any wretched New York heiress, she must fall back on money (in extreme circumstances, her own).

THE PURGATORIO

Here is a guide to the various levels on Washington's social mountain. Level One of social clout is to be invited to contribute money to a worthy cause. Level Two is to be invited to put your name in the Green Book. Level Three is to be invited to contribute your name to a worthy cause. Level Four is to be invited to parties for fewer than 24 at private homes or embassies. Level Five is to be invited to small parties at the hottest embassy. Level Six is to be invited to Katharine Graham's or Pamela Harriman's under any circumstances. Level Seven is to have Pamela Harriman or Katharine Graham accept *your* invitation. And the golden ring of social climbing is the State Dinner at the White House. Even in Social Heaven, however, there are many mansions. The dinner in honor of President Banda of Malawi does not carry the social cachet of one in honor of Margaret Thatcher.

BACKERS SCRATCHING

Determining the appropriate charities to bankroll is fairly easy. As elsewhere, the worthiest causes are sustained by the worthiest people, except that the "worthiest people" in Washington are the ones that mothers in the rest of the country typically warn their daughters against—namely, politicians and journalists. Politicians and journalists are to Washington what movie stars and producers are to Hollywood. When the National Symphony Ball Committee hosted a prestigious luncheon for top donors last year, were the guests of honor Rostropovich and Bernstein? By no means. The luncheon was held in the Mansfield room on Capitol Hill, and for entertainment Sam Nunn and Alan Simpson gave solo political recitals.

SOAR LIKE AN EAGLE

But which political party should a would-be social astronaut support in the nation's capital? And through what channel? The dominant political identity in Washington is Democratic, so becoming a big spender for the Democrats might seem the obvious choice. But that's precisely the problem. It's *too* obvious, too crass. And there are too damn many of them for a newcomer to make much of a mark.

Hence, veterans recommend supporting the Republican Party, and doing it through the Eagles. Of this select group of about eight hundred Republican donors who have contributed $10,000, three hundred live in the Washington metropolitan area. Better still is to join the 22 local members of the Team 100 group, over two hundred Republicans who have contributed $100,000. Through these investments you will be able to mingle with Administration officials at meetings, luncheons, and parties, and also with other Eagles and Team members. This may prove useful for social advancement—but pack a lunch and a discreet Sony Walkman.

Life is different for Democrats. The 130 people who form the big-ticket group of the Democratic Party, the Trustees of the Democratic Victory Fund (the irony is unintended), have either contributed or solicited $100,000. But note that the most prominent Democratic fundraiser, Pamela Harriman, is not a member. *Lesson Two: Start your own PAC and become not just a money-giver but an Issues Person.*

E PLURIBUS UNUM

A more economical alternative is to support an individual candidate. Legal limits on contributions can easily be circumvented by one of the purest forms of Washington social climbing: hosting a fundraiser. Since the long-term objective of your fundraiser is to become one of the social elite, there is no need to be rigidly partisan. One of Washington's most social couples, Dianne and Alan Kay, hosted fundraisers for Chuck Robb, Paul Trible, and Robert Dole.

Of course the Kays supported these candidates because they *really believed* in what they stood for. But their selection demonstrates an understanding of the Washington social landscape that has reached the level of true connoisseurship. For obvious reasons Robert and Elizabeth Dole are the quintessential power couple in Washington. Chuck Robb embodies the perfect social Democrat: a rising star and first-term senator who nonetheless has roots in the Kennedy and Johnson establishments. And finally, former Virginia Senator Paul Trible balances the ticket

Miss Szegedy-Maszak is a Washington-based journalist, who has changed no letters in her name and is rarely invited to parties.

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Skeleton at the Inauguration

OSCAR WILDE once hymned Frank Harris as the man who was "invited to every great salon in London—once," and, as one who reveres Wilde as much for his socialism as for his attention to the importance of gossip and frivolity, I should hope to do no better in the Washington of the Busheoisie. Still, one must be civil. I shall, at least initially, instruct my man that I am "in" to all callers. And I shall accept, and return, all invitations from the newcomers to our city. Once.

I fall into an unavoidable coma of boredom when anybody employs the phrase "bottom line" or dilates about "goals." It is just not possible to rain on such a parade. And so I think I shall arrive late and leave early at the soirée for the new Treasury Department and its minions. Something tells me that here, and at the State Department too, there will be much babble about "credibility," no ashtrays, and only bland white wine.

It might, however, be fun to step across to the revels at Housing and Urban Development—a line I could not have believed I would ever write—to see Jack Kemp and his people. Something is owed, surely, to a man who tried to run a campaign of ideas and opportunity. And one has the macabre duty of seeing for oneself the rewards of such an effort as they have been apportioned by a gracious regime of Republican modernacy. Again, though, I fear a slightly wholesome and dutiful atmosphere. Still, if he should bring that amusing John Buckley along with him there is the chance of some conversation and even originality. And I never seem to get round to HUD often enough, what with the hectic whirl at Justice and State there's been lately.

I've liked all my trips to the Lone Star state, but I can't say I care for this influx of oleaginous Texans. They remind me of the old Austin saying about the essential *poseur*—"All hat and no cows." Baker, Tower, Mosbacher—who *are* these people? I suppose Tower is due for a favor after looking so determinedly in the wrong direction while composing his "Commission" report, negligence of that kind being the Reagan-era equivalent of the Nelson touch. But Mosbacher? I hear he has a terminally glamorous life. I don't like the sound of it. This sort of thing usually means arch quips in the Style section and people saying "darling" or "divine" rather a lot.

It's a terrible thing to say, but I shall slightly miss the bestiary of the past eight years; the testimonial dinner to Ray Donovan I once attended; the gallant flutter of the pennant as the Contras announced the formation of the Jeane Kirkpatrick brigade; the madly gay fundraisers put on by Carl (Spitz) Channell for the adored Ollie; the bake sales for the Strategic Defense Initiative. People looked you in the eye in those days, even after a Jonas Savimbi breakfast, and would say the most astonishing things without blushing or flinching. Now, I fear, we are in for a diet of low-calorie euphemisms, couched in the fractured tones of business English.

All the same—courage! The effort must be made. When a class of persons truly believes that its interests are the national interest, and furrows the brow while mentioning the sacrifice of pelf they make for public service, the most wonderfully satirical things can be unintentionally uttered. I shall do my poor best to be their recorder.

—CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

Mr. Hitchens is a writer for The Nation. *He has been invited to contribute to* NATIONAL REVIEW—*once.*

with Robb and also provides a handy local ex-official. *Lesson Three:*

Ideology do not commit—
Advantage rarely comes of it.

CHOOSING A CHARITY

Politics was not, however, the way the Kays originally made their social mark. Charity was. A real-estate entrepreneur whose younger brother died of cancer at 41, Alan Kay was the chairman of the American Cancer Society's ball for eight years (he stepped down this year). During those eight years he made the Cancer Ball a major charitable event in the city—lots of coverage, lots of celebrities, lots of networking.

Other worthwhile worthy philanthropic causes: the Vince Lombardi Ball (also cancer) and the International Special Olympics. And the most worthwhile worthy artistic causes? The National Symphony Orchestra Ball, the Kennedy Center, and the Opera.

The important thing here isn't money, it's the spirit of volunteerism. Work for a committee. In particular, work for a cause that concerns the First Lady—drugs for Mrs. Reagan, and now the two acceptable L-words, literacy and leukemia, for Mrs. Bush. *Lesson Four: Be tireless. Be committed. Be photographed.*

EX UNO PLURES

But Washington can be a gentler, kinder city, if you're in the right place at the right time. Consider the case of Kathy Kemper. Miss Kemper arrived in Washington in 1980 from Chicago as an assistant tennis pro at the Chevy Chase Club. Today the heavy hitters of Washington media and politics, like Morton Kondracke, James Baker, and outgoing Swedish Ambassador Wilhelm Wachmeister eagerly appear in her tennis-tournament fundraisers.

It all started at a little dinner party hosted by one of Miss Kemper's first students, Nina Auchincloss Straight. There Miss Kemper met two more eager tennis players, Senator Larry Pressler and Zbigniew Brzezinski. "They just took some lessons and told people they came into contact with that they had a great tennis pro," Miss Kemper recalls modestly. Advantage in.

But as Miss Kemper moved from the Sports pages to the Style section, she also became an increasingly vulnerable Washington player. In late 1983, the *Post* did an exposé: Kathy Kemper had reached the heights on the basis of a padded résumé, claiming a prep-school and Princeton background (majoring in philosophy!), as well as pro-tennis-circuit experience. All untrue. Advantage out.

Only in Washington would anyone care about the academic credentials of

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a tennis coach—it made page one of the Style section. On the other hand while the *Post* story took Miss Kemper off center court, she has survived. Deuce. *Lesson Five: Like Blanche DuBois, learn to depend on the kindness of strangers. But not of journalists.*

Spelunking

A few years ago, they all said the cave-dwellers (native Washingtonians of more than two generations) were not only an endangered species—they had become socially irrelevant. When the Reagans arrived in Washington, Letitia Baldrige arranged for the new First Lady to meet with some prominent cave-dwellers like Kay Halley, Duffy Cafritz, Evangeline Bruce, and Susan Mary Alsop. "Nancy is so Hollywood she was unimpressed by the faded chintz and the antiques," says Diana McLellan, the editor of *Washingtonian* magazine. So the cave-dwellers were out.

But times have changed. Barbara Bush is the first First Lady since Lady Byrd Johnson to have many friends in the capital. With their discreet old money and large print dresses, cave-dwellers are likely to re-emerge as socially influential. *Lesson Six: Learn about antiques.*

No Monkey Business

A single man is the crown jewel of any Washington dinner party; a single woman is not. "A single woman must have lots of money or should make a bee-line for an almost bachelor senator," Diana McLellan says. "It is pretty tricky if you are not going to be just another bimbo."

"Just another bimbo . . ." a chilling thought for the ambitious young lady. The only alternative to finding a powerful husband is to succeed brilliantly in a powerful career, preferably media- or politics-related. The classic role model (and top Washington status-monger) is Sally Quinn, girl reporter transformed into social lioness and wife of the editor of the *Washington Post.* Wow. But the landscape of Washington is littered with the well-dressed and talented figures of now anonymous almost-rans. *Lesson Seven: Don't bother to learn to write well. It plainly isn't necessary, and it might irritate people.*

A Thousand Points of Light

Finally, a few extra maxims to fill out what every young girl should know about power, place, office, and, just occasionally, sex in the capital of the free world:

1. Because the social system is fickle, it is penetrable.

2. Opinions cannot be too strongly repressed.

3. Use *y*'s judiciously—an interesting spelling can make you more memorable. If your name lacks a *y*, like Jane, add it. If your name has one, like Penny, take it off.

4. If you fail in one Administration, there is always another one in the wings.

5. Remember, at least it's not New York. They say people are ruthless up there. □

So You Want to Be A Deputy Assistant Secretary

Looking for a job in the Bush Administration? You're not alone. But if you want something decent, here are a few useful rules:

1. Do not admit that you want a job in the Bush Administration. Indeed, insist that you do not want a job in the Bush Administration. Roughly, here's the effect you want to try for:

You've already known the white-hot center of power, because, after all, you were Deputy Coordinator for Special Projects (Public Relations) at EPA for the Reagan Administration. Back in the first term. Sure, from the outside it looks like fun, but frankly (yawn; glance at watch) it gets old.

And anyway, you need to make some money. With your PhD in history and your dissertation on the evolution of environmental policy in New Jersey, you were sacrificing too much salary in that $65,000-a-year government job.

And anyway, after the hours you kept in that Reagan job, you'd really like to relax.

And anyway, too, you're really happy with what you're doing.

2. Don't waste your kids. Work them in. Remember: this is why you had them. Continue the conversation something like this: "I've got my own business! Joe Bloe & Associates."

"Well, no separate office—I'm using my home."

"Well, just me. I wanted to keep it small. I need to spend some time with my kids."

3. Notwithstanding your uninterest, let them know you have a lot of contact with the Transition Office. Say they've been phoning. Shrug helplessly. Say, "I'm really gonna have to ask Heritage to take my name off the computer."

4. Drop some names. (The ones you've read in the paper are fine.) Say you were at Yale together. This is safer than it looks. You probably were.

5. Offer to help other people get jobs. Tell them whom to call; invite them to use your name. This one's a twofer: it fosters the illusion that you are plugged in as it trips up the competition.

6. When all else fails, plant press reports that you are a candidate for a very high post. This will ensure that you never get anything, but could raise your salary in your fallback position at Hill and Knowlton.

7. This is damage-control time. Humiliation stares you in the face. The world will know you shot for Deputy Assistant Secretary (Water and Science) at Interior and failed. No one will return your calls. Your children will shrink from your leper touch.

Only one thing for it: call for higher taxes to cut the deficit.

—Stuyvesant Sturtivant III

[*Formerly known as Rambo Sturtivant*]

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FARMSCAM INTERNATIONAL

America and Western Europe spend billions on farm subsidies that help the Soviets to buy up surplus butter and politicians to buy votes. The consumer (and taxpayer) foots the bill.

THE AGRICULTURAL SWAMP

JAMES BOVARD

THE EUROPEAN ban on imports of American beef, on the grounds that the cattle were being fed hormones, and the American retaliation against European food imports once again brings the agricultural squabble between the United States and the European Community to the forefront of trade issues.

The farm fight resembles two drunks lying in a gutter —each complaining that the other one has ruined the neighborhood. Agricultural trade fights are permeated with hypocrisy, blind self-righteousness, and incurable xenophobia. Most political leaders of industrial countries apparently believe that their own nation has a divine duty to be self-sufficient in foodstuffs, while every other nation has a sacred obligation to buy that nation's surplus agricultural products; thus each nation seizes upon the others' sins as an excuse to postpone correcting its own debilitating mistakes.

The best way to understand the irrationality of current farm-trade disputes is to begin by analyzing in depth the policies of the two largest buffoons in the arena.

American farm subsidies—roughly $20 billion a year directly, plus another $10 billion in higher food prices—are the equivalent of giving every full-time subsidized farmer two new Mercedeses each year. Annual subsidies for each dairy cow in the United States exceed the per-capita income for half the population of the world. With the $160-plus billion that government and consumers have spent on farm subsidies since 1980, Uncle Sam could have bought every farm, barn, and tractor in thirty states. The average American head of household worked almost one week a year in 1986 and 1987 simply to pay for welfare for fewer than a million farmers.

In 1930, the *New York Times*, surveying the wreckage of agricultural markets after the Federal Government had tried to drive up wheat prices, concluded, "It is perhaps fortunate for the country that its fingers were so badly burned at the very first trial of the scheme [of government control of farm prices]." Yet, despite an unbroken string of failures, the Federal Government has continued to disrupt American agriculture ever since. Farm programs have never worked well and Congress has never fixed them: only the names of the Secretaries of Agriculture and farmstate congressmen have changed.

It began in the 1930s, when the Federal Government decided that American farmers could not compete with foreign farmers and proceeded to close the borders to imports, undermine exports, and drive up domestic farm prices. The leading export sector of the U.S. economy was thus confined to a government hospital because politicians said it could not survive on its own.

THE FEDERAL FARM policy that has grown up in ensuing decades is a maze of contradictions. By late 1985, the U.S. wheat surplus was large enough to provide 27 loaves of bread to every person in the world. Yet, in the five-year farm bill passed in 1985, Congress encouraged even larger wheat surpluses by promising crop subsidies for higher-than-market prices. In 1986-87, while the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) was paying farmers to kill almost two million cows to reduce milk supplies, Congress was lavishly rewarding other farmers for producing more milk. Politicians perennially encourage farmers to produce food surpluses, and then cite the surpluses as proof that politicians must control agriculture to protect farmers from themselves.

"Prosperity through organized scarcity" is the core of American farm policy. In 1988, USDA rewarded farmers for not planting on 78 million acres (an area equal to all of Indiana and Ohio and most of Illinois), shutting down some of the best American farmland in an effort to drive up world wheat and corn prices. Set-asides—programs to pay farmers not to work by "setting aside" or idling their cropland—are the opium of America's farm-policymakers, the annual tribute to the bureaucratic and political delusion that America somehow controls world grain markets. The effects of last summer's drought—reducing harvests and sending prices skyrocketing—were greatly intensified by USDA's program to pay farmers to reduce production.

Each year, USDA marketing orders force farmers to abandon or squander roughly fifty million lemons, one billion oranges, one hundred million pounds of raisins, seventy million pounds of almonds, seven million pounds

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of filberts, millions of plums and nectarines, etc. USDA endows major fruit and nut cooperatives with the power to force individual farmers to let much of their crop rot or be fed to animals.

While farm programs are defended as providing a fair income to farmers, in reality USDA is the biggest source of unfair competition in rural America. USDA has bankrupted cattlemen in order to enrich dairymen, bushwacked dry-bean growers in order to reward wheat growers, and clobbered soybean growers in order to benefit corn growers. USDA bureaucrats have forced Arizona farmers to abandon three-quarters of their lemon crop in order to enrich California lemon growers, and sanctioned the crushing of independent dairymen in order to make huge dairy co-operatives all-powerful. Congressmen talk of the sanctity of the family farm, and then routinely sacrifice farm groups with less political clout to farm groups with more political clout.

The key to understanding American agricultural policy is to realize that the vast majority of the four hundred farm products produced in the United States receive no federal handouts. Dairy producers receive $6 to $7 billion a year in subsidies from taxpayers and consumers, while beef producers receive only minimal protection from imports. The Federal Government spent $12.4 billion on the corn program in 1987—almost as much as it spent on twenty million food-stamp recipients—while soybean producers received little or nothing from the Treasury. There is no intrinsic difference between subsidized and unsubsidized crops—only a difference in campaign contributions to congressmen by different farm lobbies. The fact that most farm products are produced with no government subsidy ought to demonstrate that government handouts are not necessary for a prosperous agriculture.

THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY's Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), started in 1956, is arguably even worse than ours. Between 1968 and 1985, Western Europe went from being a major importer of butter, wheat, beef, veal, and sugar to being a leading exporter. Now, agricultural subsidies soak up more than two-thirds of the European Community's budget and every year or two send the EC skittering to the edge of bankruptcy. The EC spent roughly $30 billion on farm subsidies last year, while artificially high food prices cost European consumers another $40 to $50 billion.

Handouts have proliferated to the point where they now provide almost half of the value of all farm production. The *Suddeutsche Zeitung* in Munich observed that it would cost taxpayers less if all EC farm programs were abolished "and German farmers were instead paid senior-grade civil servants' salaries."

As in America, the more government intervenes to help farmers, the more senseless farm policy becomes. The EC pays farmers over 55 to retire early, in order to reduce surplus, yet gives special aid to farmers under forty to help set them up in business. While the EC pays some farmers not to work, it pays special bonuses for other farmers to plant on mountains and hillsides. CAP is notorious for its lakes of surplus wine and olive oil, for its destruction of huge amounts of fruits and vegetables, and for its mountains of slowly rotting beef and butter. The surplus of butter became so overwhelming a few years ago that the EC sold butter oil back to farmers for 14 per cent of what the EC had paid for it—and the farmers used the butter oil as dairy feed to produce more surpluses.

The National Consumers Council, a government-funded British entity, estimated that EC prices have been 70 per cent higher than world market prices for agricultual commodities. Twenty per cent of EC spending has gone for storage costs and 40 per cent has gone for export subsidies. As *Agra Europe*, a prestigious British newsletter that closely follows EC agriculture policies, reported, "The NCC calculates that every 100 ECUs [European Currency Units] farmers gain costs consumers and taxpayers 160 ECUs." An OECD study estimated that CAP's inflationary effects on food were the equivalent of a 6 per cent income tax on the British poor.

But Britain is far from the only sufferer. The Canberra Center for International Economics in Australia estimated that the abolition of CAP would result in three million additional jobs in Europe, with a 5 per cent rise in manufacturing exports. More than a million small European farmers are basically wasting their time on the land.

In addition to being financially ruinous, agricultural subsidies have become the single most divisive issue among Western European nations, as each country tries to manipulate the bureaucratic rules of the game to provide maximum benefits for its own farmers. The common interest in a reliable food supply has been replaced by a pervasive "beggar thy neighbor" attitude.

Indeed, the Common Agricultural Policy is one of the strongest testaments against the possibilities of world government. Most EC national governments show a total irresponsibility in facing CAP's problems, instead spending their time searching for new ways to plunder the EC treasury. The European Parliament concluded that fraud in CAP programs cost the EC $4.5 billion a year. Irish farmers routinely drive the same sheep herd back and forth across the border to Northern Ireland several times—collecting a large "monetary compensatory amount" (sub-

"Give up subsidies? You must be joking!"

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sidy for intra-EC trade) each time. Detecting farm fraud is the responsibility of national governments—but most EC members are careful not to discover pilfering, since they might have to make restitution to the EC.

ONE MAJOR DIFFERENCE between the U.S. and the EC is that American politicians only announce a few times a decade that they have solved the farm problem, while European politicians feel compelled to announce it at least twice a year. In the last few years, EC politicians have loudly proclaimed that agricultural price supports have been frozen and/or reduced. Actually, between 1984 and 1988 CAP raised its effective subsidy levels by 13.7 per cent, despite the existence of massive surpluses for most of this period, through manipulation of the special currency units used for agriculture.

The farm-policy problems of the U.S. and the EC are separate, but not, unfortunately, unconnected. Every so often—as they have done now—they erupt into trade wars, in which export subsidies are the main weapons. But export subsidies are like a faulty bazooka that one cannot fire at an enemy without having it blow up in one's face. In 1986, the United States paid export subsidies equal to 150 per cent of a cow's value in order to dump American dairy cows on world markets; it would have been cheaper simply to shove the cows off the Brooklyn Bridge. In 1987, the EEC paid $140 a ton in subsidies to export wheat at a price of $57.50 a ton. A confidential EC study found that the EC would be better off destroying some two million tons of beef, butter, and grain than paying export subsidies on them. There is no rhyme or reason to such policies—except to dispose of the evidence of inept agricultural policies.

Meanwhile, the two pillars of the Western Alliance are vigorously competing to see which will feed the Red Army. U.S. subsidies on farm exports to the Soviets for just the three years 1986 to 1988 equal the annual Soviet military aid to Nicaragua. The EC sells butter to the Soviets for roughly one-tenth the price that European consumers pay. The World Bank estimates that Western agricultural policies result in a $23-billion annual subsidy to the Eastern bloc.

President Reagan announced in 1987 that the United States wants to negotiate an end to all trade-distorting farm subsidies by the year 2000, but the Europeans have balked at his proposal. If the Europeans will not come voluntarily to the trade negotiating table, however, there are many things the United States can do to help them see the light.

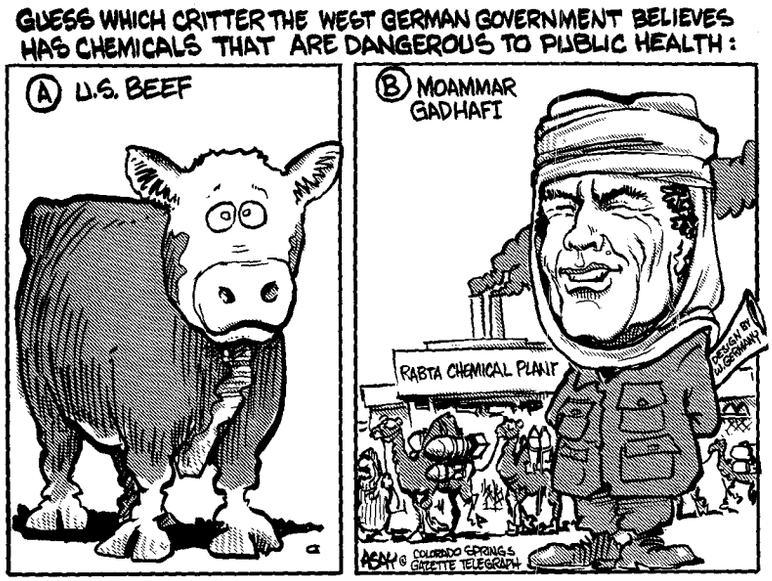
For decades the U.S. has been its own biggest enemy in the agricultural trade wars. It is now waging a Vietnam-type offensive against the European Community—willing to let legions of American taxpayers be slaughtered, but unwilling to make the hard policy decisions necessary to win the war. Set-asides are one of the United States' biggest foreign-aid programs, and the primary beneficiaries are European Community farmers and politicians. American farmers have significant comparative advantages over European farmers in cost of production for major grain and oilseed crops. If USDA would simply get out of American farmers' way, a flood of American productivity could win the trade war.

As an honorable gesture, the United States should immediately abolish its import quotas on dairy products, sugar, and peanuts. As long as the U.S. limits foreign dairy imports to 2 per cent of the American market, American politicians have no right to rant against other nations' policy sins. America's most efficient peanut growers can compete against the world—and the dairy program is a major cause of the pervasive calcium deficiencies among America's poor.

THE HISTORY of modern agricultural policy, both in the United States and elsewhere, is largely the history of a Sisyphean struggle against the gradual, inevitable decline of crop prices. The prices of wheat, corn, oats, and cotton have been gradually declining in real terms for over two hundred years, and have nosedived in comparison to units of labor required to purchase them, as the economist Julian Simon has noted. But this decline has come about largely because cost of production has declined, thanks to the invention of tractors, new seed varieties, powerful fertilizers, etc.—and not, as the farm-lobbyists would have us believe, because society is treating farmers unfairly.

European and American taxpayers and consumers have a common interest in sound agricultural policies—policies not motivated by the notions that low-priced food is a crime against nature, and that God created governments for the sole purpose of guaranteeing every farmer a profit every year. U.S. and EC agricultural policies make sense only for politicians desperate to buy re-election with other people's money. The abolition of farm subsidies would benefit non-farmers far more than it would hurt farmers. Thus, a clear opportunity exists for some sort of buy-off of the organized farm interests leeching on the American and European treasuries.

The sooner the agricultural trade mess is cleaned up, the safer the prosperity of the Western world will be. The benefits of international commerce are far too great to allow freer trade to be endangered by a senseless passion for buying a few million rural votes. □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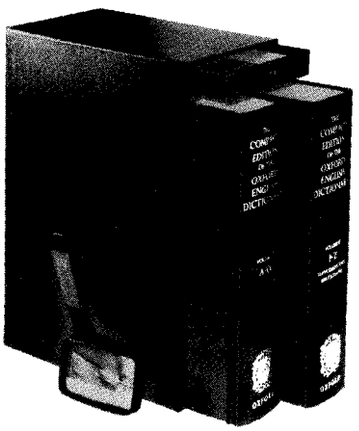

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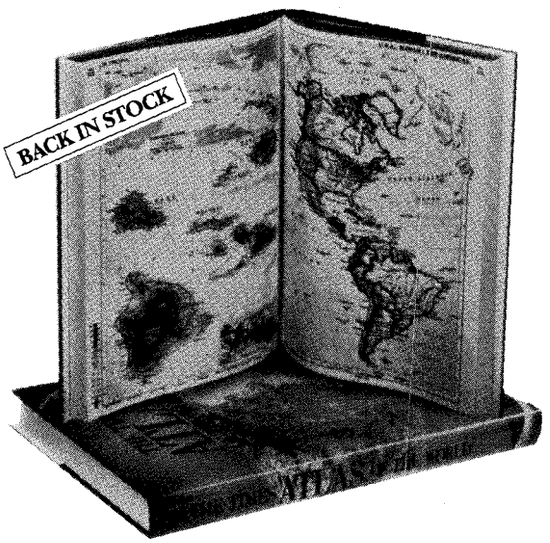

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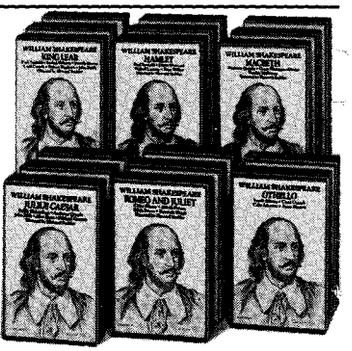

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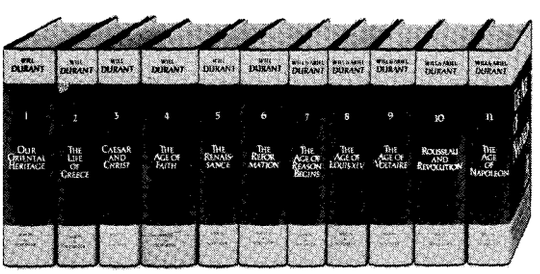
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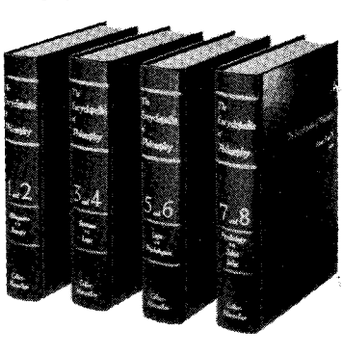

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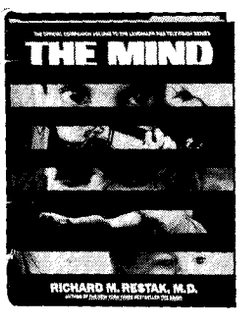

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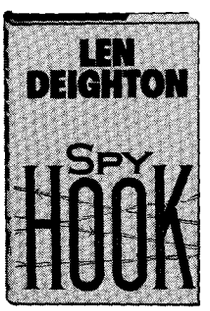

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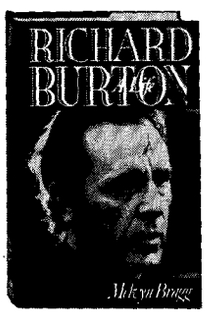

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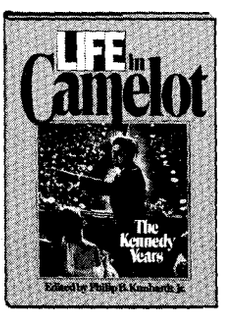

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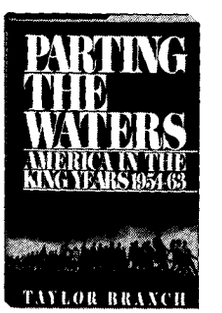

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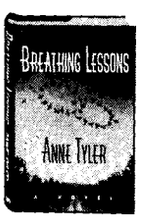

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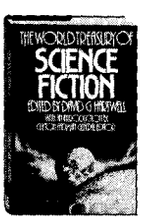

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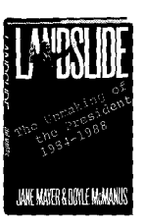

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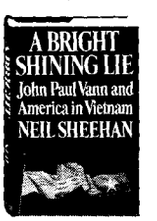

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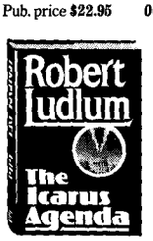

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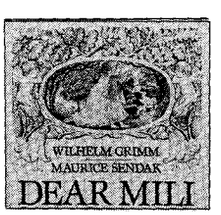

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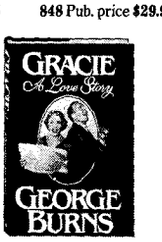

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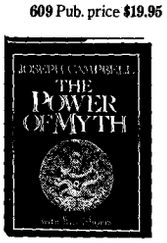

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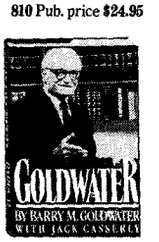

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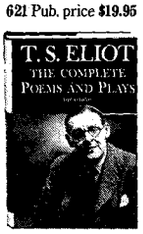

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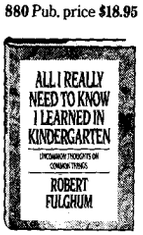

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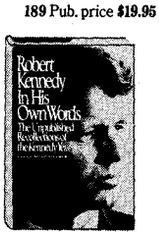

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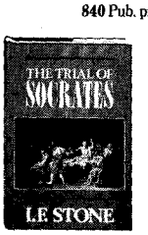

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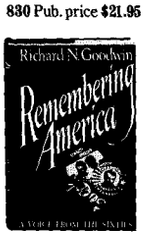

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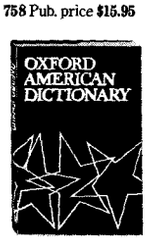

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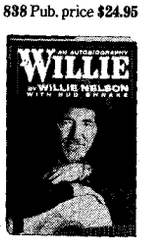

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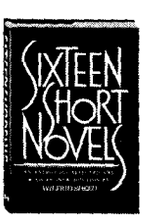

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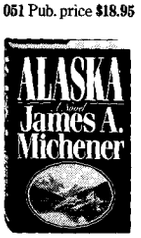

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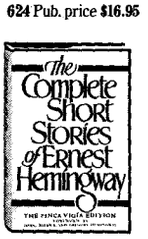

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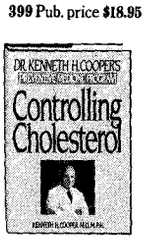

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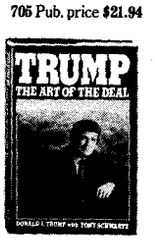

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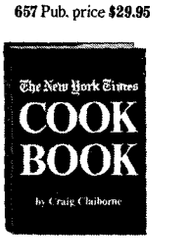

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MURDER IN BROAD DAYLIGHT

THIS IS NOT going to to be a column about Spinoza or the Great Books, but about something equally important. That is to say, Ivy League football.

Someone ought to remember how it used to be. Even when the team that year wasn't much, you would walk through one of those tunnels at the Yale Bowl or into the afternoon sunlight at Harvard's stadium, and the packed-in crowd would be singing—yes, *singing*. Everyone knew the traditional college songs. "*Crash through that line of Blue . . .*" "*Ten thousand men of Harvard . . .*" Cole Porter had written the famous Yale song: "*Bulldog, bulldog, bow wow wow.*"

The atmosphere surrounding these Ivy League games was rich and palpable. The games themselves were only a part of it, but they nevertheless were important. I now recognize that when I was a freshman in the Ivy League, I was experiencing the twilight of an era that began before World War I. Football weekends were full of songs, booze, dances, vast goings-on. Francis Russell has evoked the timeless atmosphere: "It is always the autumn of 1926, the last Saturday in September or the first in October, the ivy leaves on the stadium wall crisping to scarlet, the sun still warm, the lucent air all blue and gold . . . There is not a vacant seat in the fur-lined stadium. The saxophones of the band are muted. It is that hushed moment before the two teams surge onto the empty field and the rival captains walk toward each other for the toss-up. Any hushed moment, however, is apt to be shattered by the crash of a hip flask inadvertently dropped on the concrete."

"*With Crimson in triumph flashing, / As we march to victory . . .*" A Dartmouth freshman rolling down to Cambridge for the game, I had a blind date with a Radcliffe girl named Ann Tolstoy, a grandniece of the old Count himself. She wore a stiff velvet dress with a big lace collar, a big Dartmouth fullback named Herb Carey won the game, the stadium was packed, the dances went on until three in the morning, I think we wound up the evening at either the Hasty Pudding or the Porcellian, upstairs over a barber shop, and I slept on the floor of some high-school cronies in Eliot House.

A week or so later, it was more of the same, down to New Haven. The Yale Bowl was packed. "*Boola-boola, boola-boola . . .*" With the teams warming up, the crowd was in a frenzy. An odd thing happened this weekend. I had a date from Vassar, and had arranged for her to stay at a rooming house near the Yale campus. When I stopped by to pay in advance, eight dollars, the elderly Italian landlady explained to me that for another three dollars I could sleep with the girl. This was my first glimpse of Europe, but I didn't think the Vassar girl had any such thing in mind. Yale had Levi Jackson and Ferdinand Nadherney (nicknamed "Ferdinand the Bull"), but Dartmouth won anyway. We danced until three again, the Vassar girl slept alone at the rooming house, and I dozed until noon on the couch of a fellow tennis player in some mock-Gothic Yale dorm.

"*Going back, going back, going back to Nassau Hall . . .*" Princeton had the amazing Dick Kazmaier running and passing out of its baroque version of the old-fashioned single wing. The Princeton single-wing offense was unique. The play took a long time to develop. The player handling the ball did so with his back to the line, so the protective blocking had to be perfect. The Princeton backs would be spinning around and doing things with the football, then the play would happen—sometimes an explosion. Dick Kazmaier weighed about 155, but was one of the great players in football history, a Heisman Trophy winner.

Princeton's most important product, Scott Fitzgerald, decided to go there because he had seen Hobey Baker play football—Hobey, the last man to play without a helmet, playing with a bloody bandage around his head; Hobey, who, going to war, flew his squadron over Palmer Stadium, broke his plane loose from the group, and flew low to a standing ovation.

Professor Thomas Bergin of Yale, a great Dante scholar, wrote as his last book a marvelous history of the Harvard-Yale game entitled, simply, *The Game.* And even after his election to the Presidency of the United States, Woodrow Wilson regularly attended Princeton football practice.

TODAY'S IVY LEAGUE is embarrassed by football and everything it represents and symbolizes. The stadiums are half full. The songs are little sung (Dartmouth has actually censored some of its best songs on ideological grounds—they refer to "Indians"). The football players themselves are still keen, but rather isolated in the campus atmosphere. Football in the Ivy league has become a minor event.

Where are you, Tom Bergin? Where are you, Cole Porter? Where are you, Hobey Baker? "*Bulldog, bulldog, bow wow wow . . .*" "*Ten thousand men of Harvard want victory today . . .*"

The great thing about Ivy League football was its vital life and the rich local culture surrounding it. That is why the Death Culture (liberalism) has hated it all along. □

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RELUCTANT SAINT

Joseph Sobran

Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-63, by Taylor Branch (Simon & Schuster, 1,064 pp., $24.95)

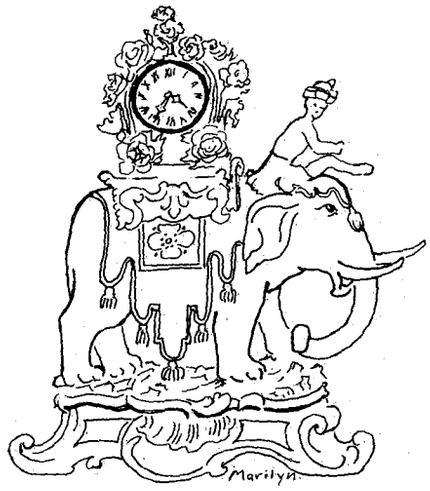
MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. would have been sixty this year. It's startling to reflect that he was not yet forty when he was murdered; he had always seemed older than he was, especially when a new generation of Black Power militants had stolen the spotlight from him in the mid Sixties. The garbage workers' strike he was leading in Memphis at the time he was shot seemed, until that moment, like a minor sideshow in the turbulent life of the times. Even his assassination was soon upstaged by Bobby Kennedy's.

But with the years it has become obvious that King was the most important American of his age. Taylor Branch leaves little doubt about that in *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-63*. (A second volume, *Pillar of Fire*, will cover King's last five years.)

King was the son of a successful Baptist preacher in Atlanta, from a family that was prominent in the Southern Negro society of the time. He went North for seminary and graduate training, and for a while, in his youthful sophistication, came to look down on his earthy, fundamentalist father. Though a gifted preacher, the young King was also a highbrow, trained in philosophy and liberal theology, capable of calling Gandhian nonviolence "merely a Niebuhrian stratagem of power." In fact it was Reinhold Niebuhr, not Gandhi, who really shaped King's outlook, teaching him the necessity for compromise in a sinful world.

King returned to the South to head the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, preceded a few years before by a local legend named Vernon Johns, an amazing personality whose irascible brilliance had tested both his Negro congregation and white city authorities. King must have seemed bland by comparison. Nevertheless, he soon assumed leadership of the 1955 bus boycott. Suddenly he was famous. "He was 26," Branch observes, "and had not quite 12 years and four months to live."

The intellectual King was submerged in the public figure, who went from arrest to arrest with patient courage, espousing "nonviolence" all the way. He inspired equal courage in thousands, who risked death to follow him.



The main facts are well known. Branch supplies nine hundred pages of details, never shocking but cumulatively surprising in their behind-the-scenes portrait of the civil-rights movement. Branch lets the facts speak for themselves and comments sparingly. The volume of his research is staggering, and he writes with a kind of modest vigor (not a cliché in the book).

What impresses one most is King's sheer fortitude. Not only did he repeatedly face the possibility of the violent death that eventually came to him; he endured (and apparently never reciprocated) hostility from people who should have been his allies. Other Negro leaders, jealous of his preeminence, conducted smear campaigns against him; one virtually accused him of being responsible for the murder of Medgar Evers by using tactics that provoked white violence.

King had other crosses to bear too. J. Edgar Hoover hated him obsessively and tried tirelessly to prove that King was a subversive (though Hoover did have a point about at least one of King's associates). King disliked even the adulation he received: knowing his own sins (compulsive adultery, for one, as Hoover discovered), he hated the role of "public saint." He could drop the mask only with a few intimate friends. "Beneath King's sturdiest qualities," Branch writes, "there was an opposing release of instability, fury, wanton merriment, and profane despair." His own dutiful decorum made him feel like a hypocrite.

Above all, he was never safe. His home was bombed. A white man approached him in the middle of a friend-

Thomas Fleming is editor of Chronicles: A Magazine of American Culture. *His latest book is* The Politics of Human Nature *(Transaction).*

Ed Marston is publisher of the High Country News, *a biweekly newspaper in Paonia, Colorado.*

Dennis J. O'Keeffe is a senior lecturer in the sociology of education at Polytechnic of North London.

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RANDOM NOTES

☐ COMING IN FEBRUARY: In *The American Age: United States Foreign Policy at Home and Abroad since 1750* (Norton, $25), Walter LaFeber argues that the United States must view realistically its relative decline as a global power, and that isolationism, in its American context, has more often been identified with the positive virtue of freedom of action, than with the negative one of sullen withdrawal.

The Coming Soviet Crash: Gorbachev's Desperate Pursuit of Credit in Western Financial Markets (Free Press, $22.50), by Judy Shelton of the Hoover Institution, is an important, clearly written, and fascinating book, whose thesis is that behind Moscow's hinted desire to join both the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, its heavy borrowing, and its floating of public bonds on the international market, lies a Soviet plan for a huge economic restructuring scheme designed to reduce an unadmitted budget deficit of equally large proportions.

The Civil War Papers of George B. McClellan: Selected Correspondence 1860-1865 (Ticknor & Fields, $35), edited by Stephen W. Sears, is an interesting volume comprising previously unpublished military and personal documents by the Union general, whose contempt for President Lincoln was repaid by his Commander-in-Chief when Lincoln dismissed him from the rank of Commander of the Army of the Potomac following the general's failure to win a resounding victory at Antietam, and who was later nominated for the Presidency by the Democratic Party in 1864.

In *A Turn in the South* (Knopf, $18.95), V. S. Naipaul has produced a marvelous travelogue of the sort that does not usually get written these days, in which the American South, as a region and as a community, is portrayed in its lasting diversity, without condescension and without tendentiousness.

☐ LEFT OVER FROM JANUARY: *Partial Payments: Essays on Writers and Their Lives* (Norton, $18.95), by Joseph Epstein, is an anthology of 19 essays (published originally in *The New Criterion*, *Commentary*, *Encounter*, and the *Times Literary Supplement*) in which the work of a wide variety of writers—including Chekhov, E. B. White, Barbara Pym, and Philip Larkin—is reassessed, often in unlooked-for and controversial ways. —CW

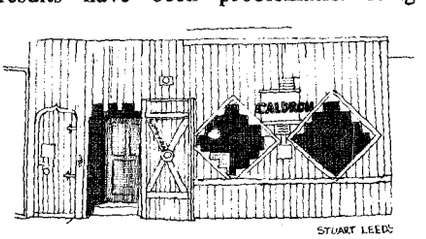
ly rally and slugged him. In a warm gathering in Harlem, an insane Negro woman stabbed him within an inch of his life as he reached to shake her hand. These things wear on the nerves.

King was not so colorless as his public-saint role suggested. He could banter charmingly with his colleagues. "Let me be sure to get arrested with people who don't snore," he once quipped, with a significant glance at Ralph Abernathy. Abernathy insisted that he never snored. "You are *torture*," King charged: "White folks ain't invented *anything* that can get to me like you do. *Anything* they want me to admit to, I will, if they'll just get you and your snoring out of my cell."

But this side of King rarely appears in the book. In his conversations with Jack Kennedy, as Branch reconstructs them, Kennedy appears more likable than admirable, King just the reverse. Kennedy had the charm of a man whose sins don't trouble him, King the off-putting sobriety of one who feels guilty about his own and vaguely responsible for everyone else's. We have only Branch's word for the existence of a more unbuttoned King (partly because a judge has ordered much of the evidence mercifully sealed for fifty years).

Parting the Waters covers a lot of territory, from Jackie Robinson to Jesse Jackson. Everyone who was anyone, from Everett Dirksen to Clyde McPhatter, pops up, along with dozens of more obscure folk who were also part of this epic story. Branch refreshes the familiar by dint of sheer thoroughness. He also uncovers a good deal about the inner workings of the Eisenhower and Kennedy Administrations; we learn, among other things, how bad blood developed between Bobby Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson (largely because Jack let Bobby handle the dirty work and take the blame—not that Bobby seemed to mind).

As a "stratagem of power," nonviolence was a triumph. It disarmed whites' fears of black violence and turned white violence into an asset, shaming most decent whites into acquiescing in an agenda about which they had deep reservations. But the results have been problematic. King never really defined civil rights in terms other than utopian, and the drive of the movement was never tempered by Niebuhrian realism. By now nobody talks about a "color-blind" society any more, and the phrase "civil rights" has come to stand for any federal assault on property rights and local sovereignty in the name of fighting bigotry. The civil-rights movement has brought a net diminution of our freedom. This is why Martin Luther King, for all his heroic qualities, is not a truly national hero. ☐



WHAT WAS REAGAN?

Jeffrey Hart

Landslide: The Unmaking of the President, 1984-1988, by Jane Mayer and Doyle McManus (Houghton Mifflin, 468 pp., $21.95)

THE THESIS of this book by two very bright and industrious journalists, Doyle McManus of the *Los Angeles Times* and Jane Mayer of the *Wall Street Journal*, is that the Iran-Contra affair exposed a basic truth about the Reagan Administration and destroyed the President's credibility. Full of court gossip, and containing finely etched portraits of such people as Bill Casey, Cap Weinberger, Oliver North, Mike Deaver, and Nancy Reagan, the book is irresistible to political junkies. But are the authors' conclusions true?

They believe that the President was a sleepwalker and a sentimentalist who was so moved by the suffering of the hostages in Lebanon—and by that of the CIA man, William Buckley, in particular—that he allowed his emotions to overtake his judgment. While there may be some truth to this explanation of the Iran arms deal, Miss Mayer and Mr. McManus do not take into account the possibility of multiple motives for policy decisions. The hostages were not the only pieces on the chessboard: Iran was at war with Iraq, and the United States was about to launch a de-facto naval war against Iran in the Persian Gulf. Israel, for its own reasons, also favored Iran over Iraq, whose nuclear capability it had unilaterally destroyed. The authors omit all of this context in order to prove their inside-the-Beltway thesis that Reagan was a feckless President

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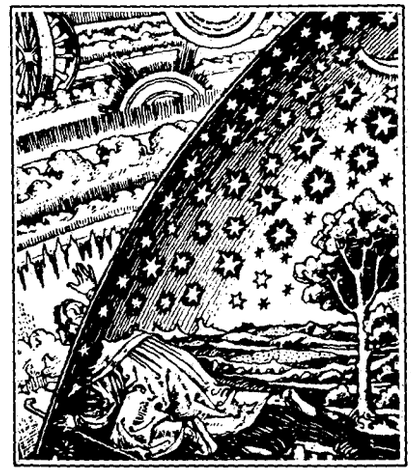

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who did not know what he was doing. The Permanent Government of the United States, which includes the Washington press corps, chooses to believe that Reagan was a political aberration, an interloper who somehow charmed the electorate into accepting his own unrealistic view of the world. The spin that *Landslide* attempts to put on history is that Reagan was the Wizard of Oz, a shallow master of illusion, and that all his alleged achievements are illusions too.

This certainly must be a comforting thesis for persons of settled liberal sensibility. But is it really an illusion that Reagan changed the whole framework of debate about national policy? Is it an illusion that he presided over a lowering of tax rates and an indexing of taxes to inflation—thereby challenging an entire range of assumptions about the Federal Government's right of access to your bank account? It certainly is not an illusion that, following a policy of peace-through-strength, Ronald Reagan built up American military power, put the Pershing and cruise missiles into Europe, and forced the Soviets to take him seriously. Without Reagan's injection of U.S. naval power into the Persian Gulf, Iran might well have defeated Iraq and gone on to destabilize Saudi Arabia and terrorize the entire region. Miss Mayer and Mr. McManus—who, to judge from their line of argument, are themselves no strangers to illusion—need to re-examine their epistemology.

Landslide deals mainly with the Iran-Contra scandal, which was certainly a political disaster: against all serious principle, the Reagan Administration was willing to swap arms for hostages. My own judgment is that National Security Advisor Bud McFarlane had dreams of glory and was haunted by the Nixon-Kissinger opening to China. But McFarlane was far out of his depth. The conditions were not ripe for a deal with the Iranians, not then; not until our Persian Gulf fleet had sunk most of their navy, and not until Iran had lost its war with Iraq.

Though fascinating for its journalistic gossip, *Landslide* is fundamentally wrong. Ronald Reagan is a peculiar figure who nevertheless succeeded in changing the political landscape. Recent books by Donald Regan, Michael Deaver, Helene von Damm, and others convincingly show us a man who is largely inaccessible to personal affection and not terribly loyal to those who have served him. But Reagan entered upon the political scene in 1966 with a few clear and true ideas, principally that government should be limited and that peace abroad results from strength and not from equivocation. These ideas are rooted in a valid view of history and human nature. The authors of *Landslide* may wish that Mr. Reagan were an illusion. But that wish is itself only an illusion. □

DARKNESS IN PARADISE

Dennis J. O'Keeffe

Red Calypso: The Grenadian Revolution and Its Aftermath, by Geoffrey Wagner (Regnery Gateway, 264 pp., $12.95)

THE COMMUNIST REGIME in Grenada lasted for four years, from 1979 to 1983. Its short history illustrates perfectly the essence of twentieth-century Communism. This small island, a place of legendary beauty, was during this short period turned into a comic-nightmare version of the Leninist state, which Geoffrey Wagner captures in all its grotesquery.

Mr. Wagner is a British academic retired from an American university (CUNY), and he has two strong qualifications for writing this book. First, he lived part of each year in Grenada throughout its period under Communist rule, and he obviously loves his adopted home. Second, his formidable learning includes a profound knowledge of Soviet geopolitical strategy and methods.

Mr. Wagner's book, published originally by London's Claridge Press and available now in the U.S., repeats once again the lessons the world has for decades been refusing to learn. In Grenada there was murder, corruption of language, and destruction of the civil order. Behind the strident and also sentimental rhetoric of the New Jewel Movement (effectively the Grenadian Communist Party) was the standard cynical disregard for human life that we ought by now to expect from Communism.

There was, in addition, that gross misuse of resources that socialism always brings. This is simply explained. To the carelessness with which bureaucrats and politicians habitually spend other people's money is added the lack of accountability entailed by the absence of representative government. Hugh O'Shaughnessy, of the London *Observer*, has offered among a number of solecisms the view that the New Jewel's financial management was cautious. In fact, the Grenadian Communists bankrupted their country.

Also true to form was the way in which the original Communist leadership in Grenada was eliminated. There has never been a Communist revolution that did not devour itself in this way. But in a sense, who cares? It is how Communists treat the innocent that matters. What happened in Grenada was potentially significant for millions of innocents who probably know nothing of the place. When American intervention brought the grisly experiment to an end, the regime was poised for more than the imminent Sovietization of the island's agrarian economy. The huge arms caches and the elaborate military infrastructure made it plain that Grenada figured integrally in the Soviet world plan.

Above all and entirely true to type, both during the New Jewel takeover and in its aftermath, there were many journalists and intellectuals in the free societies who were cravenly ready to offer comfort to Communism—a service their kind has been supplying since 1917.

Like most countries that fall under Communist rule, Grenada in no sense fitted the Marxist theory. Indeed, the setting seemed particularly unpromising for a socialist experiment. There was no bourgeoisie to speak of, no industrial working class at all. The people were deeply religious and, notably,

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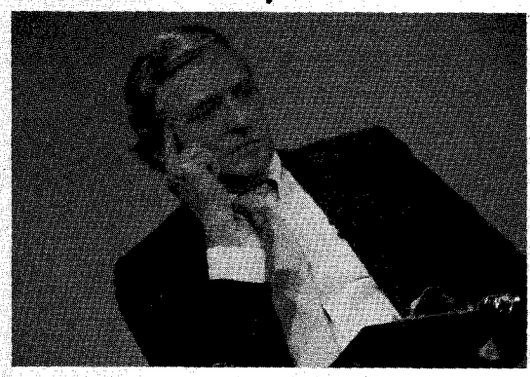
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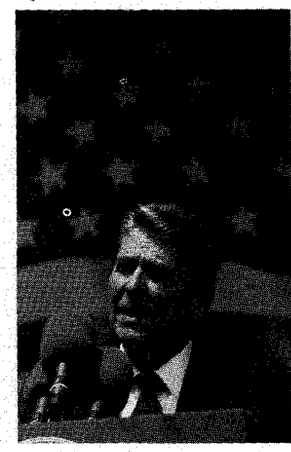

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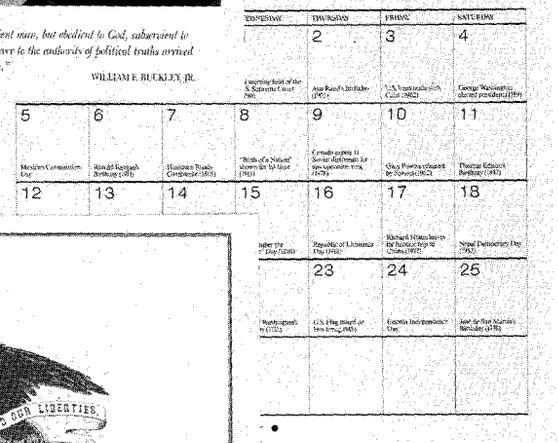

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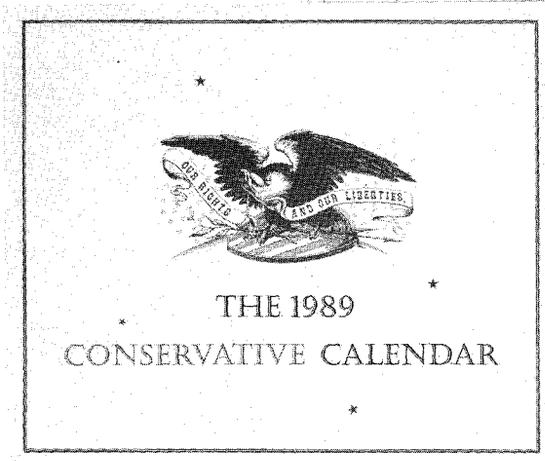

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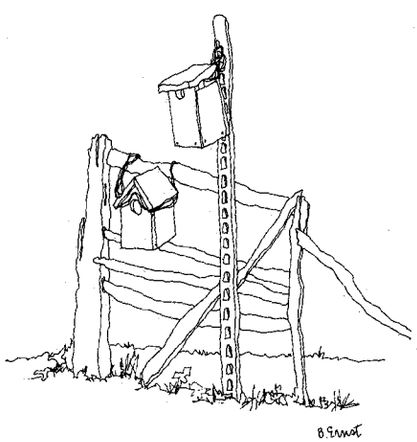
very anti-Communist. They also had an unusually strong commitment to peasant agriculture. The political system that the Communists overthrew was not a gross and sinister tyranny; it was a corrupt and faltering regime that had emerged in the wake of British decline. That this regime was helpless in the face of a few dedicated ideologues supplies further evidence that the dismantling of the great European empires has been premature. It also furnishes proof once again that socialist revolution has little to do with impersonal historical development, and everything to do with ruthless political scheming.

Overall, Grenada in 1979 was rather like a reproduction in miniature of the Russia that confronted Lenin on the eve of his takeover. The situation called for reform, not revolution: the system was reformable, and there was no enthusiasm for its violent replacement. On the other hand, unlike the Bolsheviks of 1917, the leadership of the New Jewel was a quarter-educated riffraff. With a background of cheap political huckstering in England, as well (so rumor had it) as actual criminality, the New Jewel team recalled, rather, the thugs whom Stalin employed in the 1930s. Their leader, Maurice Bishop, was believed to have been a pimp in London. His deputy, Bernard Coard, who later murdered him, had worked in London as a race-relations agitator. He had written a book advancing the grotesque thesis that the failure of black children in British schools was caused by the racism of their teachers. Coard's even more bloodthirsty wife, Phyllis, was another activist. Such were the apostles of Grenada's tomorrow. They were surrogates of surrogates, in thrall to Cuban masters who were themselves supine creatures of the Russians. All this, however, seems to have upset the Western well-wishers of Communist experimentation not in the least.

A repeated theme of Mr. Wagner's book is the crippling burden of self-doubt under which Western civilization labors. This is actually a far more important weapon in the hands of our enemies than the fast-diminishing belief in the possibility of the earthly paradise. Western flagellants are immune to evidence, not so much on heaven as on hell.

The facts about Grenada are not problematic. It is just that there are so many media people, journalists, and academics who refuse to confront them. We know what Bishop planned from the start: Grenada was to be a Marxist society. We know what the Cubans—and, more importantly, the Russians—had in mind: their American arena of operations was to be vastly expanded. They left behind prodigious documentation, indeed the most prolific intelligence windfall since the Second World War. We know that the inhabitants of the island were overwhelmingly behind the American intervention. So were most other West Indians. We know how importantly the Caribbean figures in American commerce and defense strategy. In the face of all this, however, the enemy within remains unbudged. It is not for the most part that the intellectuals believe any good will come from Communism. What they believe is that there is no threat, no danger, and no need for the American Government to do anything. Above all they regard their own society as tainted and thus unfit to act.

Even more important, as Mr. Wagner's book makes clear, is the failure of the West to capitalize on the reversal of international Communism that the American intervention represented. Mrs. Thatcher's government —still constrained by the grotesque so-called "Commonwealth"—ignominiously refused even to support the American intervention. And once it had taken place, and the New Jewel had been ousted, Suriname could have been brought back into the Western fold, with a little help from France. And Western influence could have been reasserted in Nicaragua. The truth is that millions of people are condemned to live in poverty and under despotism simply because the West will not think clearly and act decisively. Mr. Wagner's book exposes this folly in chapter after unanswerable chapter. □



DIGGING FOR TROY

Thomas Fleming

The Sheep from the Goats: Selected Literary Essays, by John Simon (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 453 pp., $24.95)

GREAT BOOK REVIEWERS have always been rare, but never so rare as in the present age. In the heroic age of reviewing (the nineteenth century), learned men belabored incompetent authors with a vigor that is almost unknown today, when readers of the *New York Times* must make do with Christopher Lehmann-Haupt, who day after day displays the most amazing range of ignorance. Over at *The New York Review of Books*, Robert Towers is better-read, but he has the power to make any novel sound duller than it could possibly be. Still, Towers does know his job. He knows how to puff a book for Random House or Viking, while at the same time showing his contempt: he's like a mosquito that can sting and drool at the same time. Then there is John Simon.

Mr. Simon may be best known as a critic of films and theater, but it is as a literary essayist and reviewer that he displays his best qualities: a high level of erudition that has been enriched by tastes that are, if not Catholic, at least Episcopalian in breadth; a correct and grammatical style that can be sober but never academic, witty but almost never cute; and finally an original and penetrating intelligence that has steered a path between the Scylla and Charybdis of literary criticism: professional theory and popular cant.

Simon comes down hard on the theorists—particularly the deconstructionists—whose object is "the substitution of hermetics for hermeneutics." While theorists such as Harold Bloom set out to obscure literary texts, Simon insists that the "sacred duty of literary criticism is to elucidate and explicate," and compares the critic to Heinrich Schliemann digging his way through layer after layer of false Troys until he reaches the city of Priam and Helen. More practically, he spells out his own

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method in the introduction to *The Sheep from the Goats*: "To look at the work and author steadily (as Arnold put it) and try to see it and him or her whole. And to make the examination and evaluation straightforward, informative, and, I hope, entertaining." The essays collected here are all that, and more.

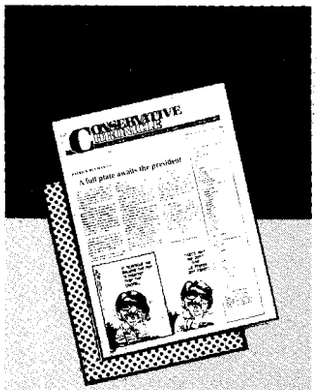
Mr. Simon has divided his volume conveniently into sections corresponding to the various national literatures to which he has devoted his attention: American, English, French, German and Austrian, Slavic, Italian, and Spanish. Few critics would risk making fools of themselves in so many different tongues, but Mr. Simon is the rarest of rare birds—a comparative-literature PhD who took the trouble to learn the languages. He is sound in all the areas he has chosen to study, but he is especially valuable on the writers of Central Europe: Brecht, Musil, Kafka, Hasek, and Kundera.

For all of Simon's reputation for spleen, what emerges most clearly from these essays is a certain fairness. While cheerfully pointing out the odious character of Bertolt Brecht, he never loses sight of Brecht's literary gifts. He is equally fair to Tennessee Williams, Franz Kafka, and Gore Vidal, even though Vidal once called him "a compulsive rogue criminal" and "an Illyrian gangster." At the same time, little patience is wasted on poseurs like Norman Mailer: "Mailer needs neither sex nor food to be nauseating; he can do it with mere hyperbole."

At his best, a man of letters is always at least a bit of a pedant, and Simon is no exception. His greatest delight is to discover a misplaced accent, and his most cutting adjective is "ungrammatical." Literary biographers who have devoted years to their subject wake up one morning to find themselves pummeled and pilloried for their historical errors and grammatical mistakes. A reviewer must therefore experience a certain *Schadenfreude* in discovering that Mr. Simon is not perfect. For example, it was not actually Ovid "who first formulated the dilemma of the modern artist . . . 'I see the better and approve of it, but follow the worse.' " The Roman poet was, in fact, only imitating Euripides' Phaedra, who makes a similar pronouncement, probably in answer to Socrates' dangerous fallacy that doing right follows automatically from knowing right.

Given a second or two to reflect on this, Simon could probably recite the passage. One of the high points in the history of television was a Dick Cavett show in which John Simon took classicist Erich Segal apart in a discussion of Euripides and his audience. Simon ended up lecturing the Yale professor (and author of *Love Story*) on the process by which Athenians selected the winners at dramatic festivals. To complete poor Mr. Segal's discomfiture, "Little Richard" leaned over to reassure him: "That's right, don't listen to the critics. They've always been against me."

No one, not even a European polymath, can know everything, and Mr. Simon is stronger in the literatures of the Continent than he is on Anglo-American themes. He does write very well on Robert Lowell's hopelessly botched translations: "A poet runs out



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of poetry of his own, so he makes it out of someone else's, rather like the fly that lays its eggs in the living body of a caterpillar for the larvae to feed on." On the other hand, his insistence that Lowell's free adaptations are essentially medieval in approach is simply wrong. Renaissance humanists did develop high standards in scholarship, but the loose imitation of ancient works was never abandoned as a literary form. French and English writers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had worked out elaborate distinctions between the various degrees of freedom in translation, and some of the best verse of the period —Johnson's "The Vanity of Human Wishes," Rochester's "Satire against Mankind," and Pope's imitations of Horace—are, if anything, freer adaptations than Lowell's.

If eighteenth-century English verse is fairly unfamiliar ground for Simon, American history is for him something of an exotic subject. He apparently accepts Vidal's bizarre rewriting of history in *Burr*, and seems content to take Vidal's word for it that Jefferson was "a liar, coward, selfish schemer, inconsistent wordmonger, paltry tinkerer, and consummate hypocrite." Why? The explanation probably does not lie in any hostility toward Simon's adopted country, but it is hard for many educated Europeans to take us as seriously as we should like.

Simon's greatest successes are his essays on intentionally serious literature, even seriously bad literature. But, at its best, American literature is rarely like Flaubert or Borges or even Kundera, and it is hard to imagine what he would do with Bret Harte or Booth Tarkington. The closest he comes to typical Americana are Eugene O'Neill and Tennessee Williams. In "Brothers under the Skin," Simon makes a good case for an affinity between the two. But the relationship may not be as fraternal as he suggests. O'Neill is a sort of father to most of the American playwrights who followed him, and, as much as one ought to bow to Simon's judgment in matters of the theater, O'Neill created a large *œuvre* that Williams could only think of rivaling in one or two of his best plays. Perhaps this is only a matter of taste.

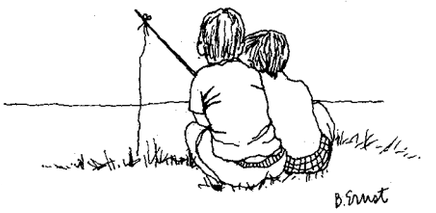
Indeed, a reviewer's greatest virtue is neither theory nor even judgment but that indefinable quality known as taste. While anyone is free to disagree with Simon's taste, he manages to be consistent without being entirely predictable. One might not have predicted his affection for Stevie Smith, for example. In fact, Simon displays rather good taste in poetry—likes Jarrell, despises all but a few good patches in Lowell. It is precisely because he has such taste in English—so rare among those who grew up speaking other languages—that he might better have omitted his analyses of poetic technique. In Miss Smith's terse but (intentionally?) clumsy lines, Simon discovers "childlike, tripping movement" and notices a beautiful "suspension" in the line "But only for a day as we." As someone who has been assiduously studying versification for 25 years, I have to say I don't see much more than a conventional enjambment that might have been handled with greater skill by any experienced poet since Marlowe. Poetry may not be the mug's game Eliot thought it was, but searching for sound-and-sense parallels is a parlor game that is best left to theorists and professors.

Book reviews are among the ephemeral arts, like newspaper editorials and popular commercials. They make a sensation for a time, and when they are gone we remember what we felt about them better than we remember the actual works. With most of Mr. Simon's reviews, such is not the case. His pans are as satisfying as a public execution, and as long as readers are interested in Kafka, Borges, Brecht, and Camus, they should be able to take profit and pleasure from these observations of a critic who is "as tall a man as any's in Illyria"—or in the United States. □

APPALACHIAN MAN

Ed Marston

The Fool's Progress: An Honest Novel, by Edward Abbey (Holt, 485 pp., $19.95)



THERE ARE similarities between the European adventurer Napoleon Bonaparte and the Western writer Edward Abbey: Napoleon attempted to conquer Europe, Russia, and part of the New World; Abbey has set his sights on a land area of roughly the same size—the American West. The differences between the two are also striking: Napoleon went where the people were; Abbey cares only about land empty of people. Had Edward Abbey been in charge of Napoleon's Russian campaign, he would have ignored Moscow and headed for Siberia. But Abbey and Napoleon share a thirst for power, only their weapons being different. Napoleon fought with armaments; Abbey fights with myths.

The prevailing myth of the American West was created by Owen Wister in *The Virginian* and embellished by Louis L'Amour in pulp Westerns and by John Wayne in celluloid Westerns; of them, Wallace Stegner has said that they took a poorly paid swineherd on horseback and converted him into a hero. Abbey has set himself the job of converting the cowboy back into a swineherd; his ultimate goal is to have schoolchildren in the mid twenty-first century howl with disbelief when they see a textbook photo of Ronald Reagan, chapped and Stetsoned, on horseback. He wants these children of the future to be raised on Abbey-type Westerns rather than Wister-type Westerns.

The Abbey-type Westerns will idolize hard-drinking, denim-clad men in workboots who spend their work time torching billboards that block views of the mountains, cutting ranchers' fences so that snowbound antelope can feed, and disemboweling D-9 Caterpillar tractors moments before they would trundle into a Utah desert canyon in search of mineral wealth. In their spare time, these pickup riders of the purple sage will drink beer, insult ethnic minorities, and chase after young women whose common characteristic is their "round compact heart-shaped bottom like an inverted Valentine." Abbey Westerns might feature such dramatic action as the burning of the last piece of kitsch in Santa Fe, the legalization of throwing beer cans from windows of moving pickup trucks, and finally—triumphantly—the destruction by dynamite of Glen Canyon Dam, with the subsequent torrential draining of Lake Foul.

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From a distance, Abbey may sound like an environmentalist, but only from a very long distance. Environmentalists, for example, generally pay at least lip service to the rights and values of Native Americans. Abbey lumps Indians with other "minorities"—women, Hispanics, Jews, well-to-do WASPS—as enemies of both the land and of its rightful inheritors: Appalachian hillbilly white trash. Many who applauded Abbey's dislike of ranchers and development in general assumed that his nativist tone was only a kind of protective coloration. But *The Fool's Progress* shows that nativist hostility is as much a part of Edward Abbey as is his love of the Western landscape and sky. This long novel is part pun ("the enema within"), part wisecrack ("unhappy divorces are unhappy each in a different way"), part ethnic slur (the Mexican credit card is a "leetle robber hose" for siphoning gas; "they don't make Jews like Jesus any more"), and part a voyage across Western America, as viewed uniquely by Abbey himself.

The hero of *The Fool's Progress* is in a continual state of irritation; he is fated to be surrounded and intruded on by hordes of people who live in ways he finds inexplicable or hateful. But the book's true villains are the women's liberationists—the Germaine Greers and Gloria Steinems—because they threaten the availability of what Abbey's fool, Henry Holyoak Lightcap, needs so badly: young, beautiful, accepting women. Somewhere in the book Lightcap/Abbey, an omnivorous reader in half-hearted pursuit of a graduate degree in philosophy, says he cares little about plot or character: he is interested only in how a writer's mind works. Despite this prejudice, *Fool's Progress* is well plotted. For me, however, its most striking features are the phrases of contempt and anger leveled against the world Abbey hates. After Henry and his brother Will have run off two young men for shooting a hawk from an all-terrain vehicle, Henry remarks, "They're part of the new breed, Will. Not exactly men, not exactly women, but something in between they call 'guys.'"

This book is not about a "guy." Henry Holyoak Lightcap is a man, and a fool, because he can't force himself to do what others do so easily: settle into an unsatisfactory marriage, get a PhD, get a job, make money. It is, in other words, about a furious, overeducated hillbilly. Despite his vast reading and intelligence, Henry remains simply another Lightcap: the latest in a line of economic loners who have been avoiding the time clock and other social collars ever since Adam Smith propounded his monstrous theory of pinmaking.

There is nothing unique about the Lightcaps. They were among the many uncollared Europeans who fled Smith's industrializing continent for the wilds of Appalachia. Then in the twentieth century, when development reached Appalachia, many of them, like Henry, fled again, this time to the rural West to make a last stand. Lightcap/Abbey, then, is neither an environmentalist in search of hiking trails, well-run national parks, and wilderness areas, nor a Jeffersonian in search of calm, measured, agrarian democracy. He is, first and last, a wild man, interested in landscape and wildlife that matches his wildness.

The Fool's Progress lacks the magical descriptions of air and land and the joy of destruction that brought Abbey's 1975 novel, *The Monkey-Wrench Gang*, to life. And it is un-

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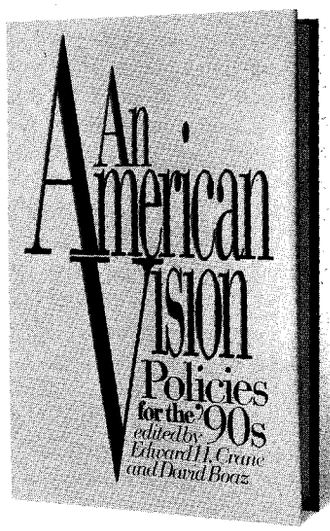

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even. I skimmed the short chapters describing Henry's trip homeward to Appalachia in order to get back to the interleaved and much longer chapters describing the protagonist's younger years. Yet Abbey finally achieves his goal. Henry Holyoak Lightcap breathes for the reader, immersing us in vapors of alcohol, inconsistency, and fury, until at last, embraced by his wife, Claire, and his Appalachian family, he is redeemed by love. ☐

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Ralph de Toledano

ONE OF THE abounding talents of our times was Hoagland Howard Carmichael, known to a grateful world as Hoagy. He was a sound jazz pianist, a topnotch writer of music, and an excellent performer and actor. He played with the legendary Bix Beiderbecke, for whom he held an almost rapturous admiration until his dying day, and he stole a scene or two from Lauren Bacall and Humphrey Bogart in *To Have and Have Not*, a film far better than the Hemingway novel on which it was putatively based. He wrote some of the most lyrical and beautifully contrived songs of our times—and many of the standards that still send our great jazzmen.

Now the Smithsonian Institution and the Indiana Historical Society—Hoagy was a Hoosier—have put together with love and good sense a four-LP album that includes most of Hoagy's recorded *œuvre*. (Most, that is, of his compositions, not most of the hundreds of recordings made by hundreds of soloists and orchestras.) It comes with a distinguished pamphlet of history, analysis, and appreciation by John Edward Hasse, who was also the producer of the album. Here Louis Armstrong, Mildred Bailey, Frank Sinatra, Ethel Waters, Bing Crosby, Artie Shaw, Benny Goodman, and Hoagy himself, with plenty of et ceteras, give us single and multiple versions of "Stardust," "Lazy River," "Skylark," "Hong Kong Blues," "Georgia on My Mind," "Rockin' Chair"—you name it. One is impressed by the sheer creativity of these songs, and the musical subtlety with which they are crafted—both accentuated by the styles and approaches of this galaxy of performers (Smithsonian 2300, available from Smithsonian Recordings, Box 10230, Des Moines, Iowa 50381-0230).

☐ The Benny Goodman band of the mid and late 1930s was dominated in its recorded output by the elegant arabesques of its leader's clarinet solos. In "live" performance, sidemen of varying degrees of *le hot* were allowed to hold forth. This is most amply demonstrated by that classic of big-band jazz, the "Sing, Sing, Sing" that rocked Carnegie Hall at the great 1938 concert—chorus after chorus that can now be heard on the CBS CD re-recording of that epic gathering (CBS CD J2C40244).

The studio version, which is a pale imitation, has now been reissued by RCA-Bluebird in a digitalized version as part of a collection entitled *Benny Goodman: Trio and Quartet Sessions, Vol. I: After You've Gone* (CD 5631-2-RB). With it are some of the fine Goodman standards, with an orchestra that really swung, playing the great arrangements of such as Fletcher Henderson, whose own uneven band in effect created the Goodman style.

The Trio and Quartet sides are something else again. For here there was a wide interplay of solo improvisation: Benny and that subtlest of jazz pianists, Teddy Wilson, with Gene Krupa's uncharacteristically restrained drumming on the Trio cuts, augmented by Lionel Hampton's driving vibes for the Quartet. Benny and Teddy were a perfect pair, with something of the Mozartian in their playing—an almost delicate distillation of the jazz strain. In this collection are all the ones that will not be forgotten—"Body & Soul," "Vibraphone Blues," "Melancholy Baby," and on and on.

☐ The Artie Shaw orchestra never had the *éclat* of the Goodman band, but in some ways it was superior. It had a more relaxed swing, its arrangements were richer and more varied, and Shaw gave his sidemen—some of the best of the time—far more latitude, allowing us to hear them at their best. *Artie Shaw and His Orchestra: Begin the Beguine* (digital re-recording by RCA-Bluebird, CD 6274-2-RB) brings together such show-stoppers as "Stardust" with the now-legendary Billy Butterfield trumpet solo, "Frenesi," "Temptation," and a notable two-part "Blues" arranged for the Shaw band by that fine American composer William Grant Still.

☐ Fats Waller's *The Joint Is Jumpin'* (RCA-Bluebird digital re-recording, CD 6288-2-RB) is perhaps the most definitive collection of that ebullient piano player's work; it includes early and now-classic solo sides such as the rollickingly typical Waller "Your Feet's Too Big" and Waller's own "Ain't Misbehavin'." Waller's was Harlem stride at its stridiest—fantastic technique, power, mood, and humor. These new RCA-Bluebirds will be welcome not only to new collectors filling in gaps but also to those whose analogues are by now pretty beat up.

☐ The Preservation Hall Jazz Band is a kind of musical perpetual-motion machine. It has been playing the old New Orleans marches, rags, and dance tunes since the turn of the century—with changing personnel, of course—and playing them in a way that was good enough for Bunk Johnson, Jelly Roll Morton, and perhaps Buddy Bolden, and more than good enough for us now. On this CD, titled *Preservation Hall Jazz Band, Vol. I*, you can jiggle to those perpetual oldies, from "Tiger Rag" to "Bill Bailey, Won't You Please Come Home?" (CBS CD MK34549).

☐ *Jazz '84* is another kettle of fish, as its subtitle, *Highlights from the IXth*

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Moscow Jazz Festival, indicates. The Russians, by listening to our jazz recordings—during some periods clandestinely—have latched on to the ways and means of the American music. For the most part, they play their own compositions with a good beat and interesting solos; they are not Benny Goodman or Charlie Parker—but then, who is? (MFCD 894, from Mobile Fidelity Sound Lab, 1260 Holm Road, Petaluma, Calif. 94952-1182.)

☐ Jazz aficionados may like Nancy Kelly, and they may not. I do, after hearing *Live Jazz* (Amherst 93317, from Amherst Records, 1800 Main Street, Buffalo, N.Y. 14208). Miss Kelly has a light voice, almost devoid of vibrato, and she reminds me of Annie Ross, a singer who, like caviar and artichokes, appealed to a limited but dedicated group. When she departs from the melody, Miss Kelly improvises on the chord, which, when done unerringly, is wow! Sometimes she is wow! and sometimes not. But she runs through such tugging standards as "But Not for Me," "Over the Rainbow," and "Almost like Being in Love" with enough authority to make me want to hear more. She is intimate jazz, like Lee Wiley, and no gutbucket Bessie Smith. ☐

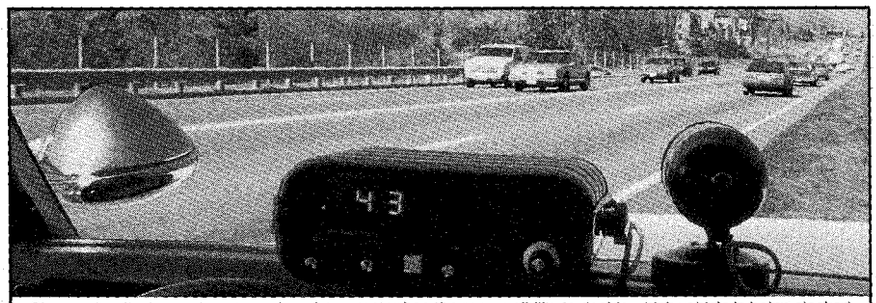
THE GIMLET EYE

ON ENVIRONMENTALISM

D. Keith Mano

I PUBLISHED *The Bridge*, my one science-fiction novel, 15 years ago last spring. It was set in some inhospitable future New York—after a totalitarian, theocratic government, proclaiming environmentalist doctrine, had subdued the world. By law vegetation grew wild: food was an inorganic chemical regimen: competition, even the most innocuous, had been forbidden. As my central narrative section opens, all human civilization, under Big Brother pressure, has pledged to commit suicide—a logical, if absurd, extension of radical environmentalism and the leftist death wish. Breathing, you see, caused death in certain innocent microbes. No life form is inherently superior, of course, but men and women, given their rational free will, could at least choose not to murder. My simple protagonist, Dominick Priest, through one horrid adventure or another, develops another position. And at last—in epilogue retrospect—we learn that Priest has established a culture dependent on cannibalism and blood sacrifice. So, I was saying (if I remember correctly), the human cycles go.

I suppose, as Lionel Trilling might have said, it is all a matter of authenticity. Bacteria and plants do their unpretentious thing: that is, they are true to their nature, *authentic* (not *sincere* —sincere means true to a specific belief system). By definition, because of his devious and manipulative mind, man can never be authentic. Our skyscrapers are intrusive and vulgar—whereas, say, the gross, two-foot-long wasp nest that once hung from my



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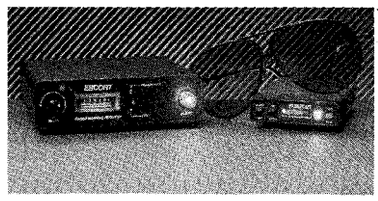

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In 1989, with the Contras degraded below fighting capability by the irresponsibility of the Democratic Congress, it may be that the cause of freedom in Nicaragua can best be served by the emergence of a handful of prophetic writers bearing witness (as it is the function of prophetic writers to do), in accordance with the old saw about the pen being mightier, et cetera. If so, two or three of them may already have made their appearance in an obscurely published, but highly readable, small volume called *Voices against the State: Nicaraguan Opposition to the FSLN* (Institute of Inter-American Studies, North-South Center Publications, University of Miami, P.O. Box 248123, Coral Gables, Fla. 33124; $12.95), edited by Steven Blakemore and with a foreword by Arturo J. Cruz, director of the Nicaragua Research Project and a senior research associate at the University of Miami.

Señor Cruz served as a member of the Sandinista junta in Managua, and later as its ambassador to Washington; the beginnings of this book, he recalls, are in a telephone call to him from Professor Blakemore, who suggested "the importance of compiling an anthology of articles by Nicaraguan liberals to describe how the current Sandinista regime has betrayed the ideals of many of us who were among the original supporters of the Revolution. In many areas of political and civic life, the ideals for which we fought and worked—freedom of press, free elections, human rights, and so on—have been repressed or distorted in ways which were never anticipated or desired."

"Don Arturo" (as he is known in Nicaragua), following his resignation from the revolutionary government, was nominated by an alliance of the democratic opposition as its candidate for the presidency in the 1984 "elections," his account of which experience ("Elections under the Sandinista Regime") is one of the best examples—perhaps the best—in the literature I have looked at arising from the Nicaraguan counter-revolution. With compelling clarity and force it describes, "from personal experience," how much "the Sandinista *comandantes* rejected and abhorred democratic elections" and how far they were prepared to go—in fact did go—to ensure that they took place only in the minds of sympathetic "observers" outside Nicaragua itself. Noting that in 1979, only a few weeks before the routing of the Somoza dynasty, the *Washington Post* printed an editorial urging the Sandinistas to hold elections as soon as possible in order to assure themselves of an irrefutable popular mandate, Señor Cruz comments:

> Ironically, the Sandinistas paid no attention to such advice. Had they done so, and had they held elections toward the end of that year, or even early in 1980, they would have won an overwhelming victory. Instead, by November 1984 when they finally went to the polls, forced by the need to wear a democratic mask, the Sandinistas' moral authority had deteriorated enormously. In the intervening five years, the Nicaraguan people had discovered the totalitarian nature of their government and had suffered from their misdeeds. Hence, the Sandinistas resorted to the abusive practice of dirty elections, which all dictators use when they wish to give their government a seal of legitimacy.

Señor Cruz, who believed that the "elections" of 1984 represented "the last opportunity to change the totalitarian course set by the Sandinista vanguard," but who also felt torn between the necessity of revealing the anti-Sandinista sentiment of the majority and the crucial importance of not seeming to honor a dishonest election, postponed filing his candidacy in order to force the acceptance, by the FSLN, of democratic stipulations known as the Nine Points (they never were accepted); in the "elections" that ensued, the Sandinistas organized their *turbas divinas* ("divine mobs," modeled on those used by the Somocistas) to break up meetings held by the opposition and egregiously falsified the returns, which Señor Cruz believes to have been distinguished chiefly by a large number of abstentions signifying, under the circumstances, the equivalent of a vote against the FSLN.

In addition to the *turbas divinas*, the Sandinistas made use of a set of what Cruz calls "micro-parties," derided by the people as *zancudos* (mosquitoes): in essence, fringe and splinter groups of no political or popular significance but willing to serve as collaborators with the regime, which could point to their untrammeled activities as proof of the legitimacy of the elections as a whole. In his article "The Media, *La Prensa*, and Sandinista Control," Jaime Chamorro—who was editor of the famous independent newspaper when it was shut down by the government on June 26, 1986—crystallizes a theme suggested by Cruz: namely, how much the Sandinistas have learned and appropriated from the Somocistas. The *turbas divinas* and the *zancudos* are but specific examples of a general phenomenon: "The willingness," Chamorro writes, "to welcome back old Somocistas seems to be a fundamental characteristic of Sandinismo; many of the same thugs who once worked for Somoza now fill state agencies and are successfully integrated into Sandinista Defense Committees and other government positions where their services are appreciated. That is why many of us in Nicaragua say that Sandinismo is Somocismo of the Left; it is Somocismo writ large."

Chamorro's account of *La Prensa*'s travail under Sandinismo is also excellent, even though it covers a by-now-familiar subject. There are also articles on the status of education (you can still pay if you wish for the private variety, which the government has rendered indistinguishable from the for-free stuff) and human rights in Nicaragua, a short but moving address by Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo (the defender of traditional Christianity in that country), and "Christianity and Sandinismo," a closing piece by Humberto Belli—the quondam Sandinista who went to work at *La Prensa* and finally fled Nicaragua for the U.S., where he has written two books, both reviewed in this space. Much of what Belli has to say here he has said before, and yet his article is trenchant and full of a mordant wit: "Indeed, the Sandinistas have developed an innovation in the field of anti-Christian persecution: anti-Christian policies carried out in the name of Jesus Christ." □

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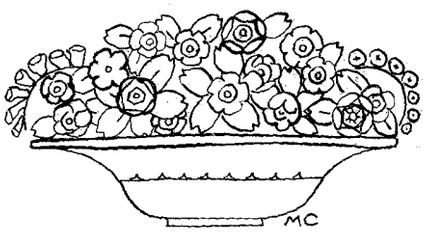

house eave was natural and full of *integritas*. When men clear land, even for subsistence agriculture, it is all wreckage. When a locust swarm attacks, they call it, oh, *genuine*—which animal status has also been accorded the Third World primitive whose detritus is thought to be either so naïve or so incompetent that it cannot even pollute.

Furthermore, by liberal standards at least, acid rain and radioactive waste are positively invigorating when you contrast them with that quintessential pollutant, human intelligence. Our ecology movement is, at base, a repudiation of assertive, rational thought. And, not by coincidence, enterprising intellect has been associated with the free-market capitalist dynamic. For that reason, as most conservatives understood, environmentalism became an indispensable leftist instrument—whatever the high intention of individual Sierra types. Applied with cunning, environmentalist rhetoric could cripple this power plant or that missile site. To paraphrase Lenin: Give me fifty snail darters and I'll strangle America.

A lot of tendentious lying went on back then—as Melvin J. Grayson and Thomas R. Shepard Jr. reported in *The Disaster Lobby* (1973). Lake Erie, environmentalists told us, was flat-out dead: even though more fish were being taken from Erie than from Michigan, Ontario, Superior, and Huron put together. Indeed, evidence existed of a massive overall *improvement* in world "quality of life." Post-1970 New York air was far cleaner than, say, air over Sam Johnson's wood- and coal-burning London. The automobile has probably ameliorated human health (tons of urban horse manure provide a rich vector for disease). When data became more accurate, human life got short-changed. DDT probably did thin birds' eggshells. Nonetheless, it was the one cheap pesticide available to a Third World nation. In pre-DDT Ceylon, for instance, between two and three million people were afflicted with malaria at any given moment. DDT brought that case level near zero. When, in large part because of *Silent Spring*, DDT was discontinued, once again thousands became fatally ill. All of which made my broad science-fiction satire sound like Emile Zola.

In retrospect, 15 years later, I think the conservative perception of radical environmentalism was correct. The earth is far more resilient than anyone ever supposed. Club of Rome panic rhetoric was spurious and inflammatory. The ecological agenda has been subject to leftist gerrymandering. For all those reasons, environmentalism has been traditionally accorded a low rank in conservative political and social thought. We are distrustful of it. We distrust, too, because activist environmental measures *ineluctably* require state and federal intervention.

It is unsettling, I know, for a conservative to engage that axiom. Free-market practice, after all, has been vindicated in most areas of human enterprise. Take, for example, this over-sanguine conservative prescription ("Those Whales," "The Week," November 25, 1988): "Indeed, the surest method of preserving the environment is to extend property rights in it so that its owners have a long-term interest in passing on to their children an inheritance that is not only maintained but improved." This sentiment (you can't call it a program) won't compute. Extend property rights how? To whom? Me, for instance? Listen, allow this free-marketeer to buy a piece of Central Park and I'll throw up the biggest condo-*cum*-garage you ever saw. Tomorrow. It'll take very good care of *my* children's children, thank you. And if I'm not permitted to build, well, that uptown parcel is a lousy investment. The free market functions when self-interest can inspire capitalist initiative. But conservation is a matter of self-restraint, not self-in-

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terest. And general self-restraint will have to be monitored by general law.

Environmental passion is, if anything, on the uptick—in particular wherever an animal can be anthropomorphized. Whales are sprung from the ice at preposterous international expense. An animal-rightist is arrested after setting some kind of explosive device. In 1988, abortion alone can compete with environmentalism for emotional impact. And, yes, the earth is less resilient. Our Atlantic Coast ("Pollution & Politics," "The Week," September 30) has become a cesspool—and no capitalist would offer to buy and restore square acres of blank ocean property. Boston Harbor taught Mike Dukakis a pungent lesson. Outmaneuvered elsewhere, Democrats are sure to make the environment their first or second issue in 1992. George Bush had better have a pretty decent record by then. The question at hand will not be free-market environmentalism *v.* statist environmentalism. The question will be more statism *v.* less statism. It is time conservatives took an activist position on ecology. Before we are cleaned right out of office. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Cecil Rhodes: The Flawed Colossus, by Brian Roberts (Norton, 319 pp., $22.50)

THE RHODES FAMILY was as idiosyncratic as any in all Victoriana. Of the ten Rhodes children who survived into adulthood, only two—Cecil wasn't one of them—married. Cecil Rhodes preferred the company of men to that of women, and one of his sisters, Edith, "dressed like a man, in a grey suit, high collar, and man's tie and hat." But when his home in South Africa caught fire while Edith was visiting him, his butler saved his books before helping Edith escape. The butler explained: "I first saved what I thought the master valued most." Rhodes aspired and plotted to spread British influence throughout the world—this was his original intention behind what eventually became the Rhodes scholarships—but he himself spent no more time than he had to in Britain. His true home was South Africa, where his rise to power and riches was phenomenal—he arrived there at the age of 17, and by 37 he had created a financial empire out of virtually nothing, put himself through Oxford, become Prime Minister of the Cape, and carved out vast territories for Britain in the north. But as Brian Roberts points out, his political and business judgments were often wrong. Roberts is fair in his analysis of Rhodes's character, which, though not spotless, was nevertheless not bereft of accomplishments and virtue. Roberts ends his biography of the founder of Rhodesia on an elegiac note: "In many ways what Rhodes, for all his idealism, effort, and ruthlessness, had built was no more than an elaborate house of cards; a house that has been blown away by the winds of history."

H. W. CROCKER III

Superpower Arms Control: Setting the Record Straight, edited by Albert Carnesale and Richard N. Haass (Ballinger, 392 pp., $34.95)

AS A RESULT of the INF treaty, arms control has gained new respectability, as well as momentum. The question remains, however, whether arms control has any real utility, and that is the subject of this volume. Carnesale and Haass, in concert with nine other Harvard specialists, present 12 essays intended to cut through the claims of both hawks and doves and to examine objectively the results of a quarter-century of arms-control negotiations. Seven of these essays are case studies of specific negotiations: test bans, accident prevention, non-proliferation, SALT I and II, ABM and anti-satellite systems, and biological weapons. Three deal with elements common to all arms talks: verification, linkage, and the issue of whether agreements have a lulling effect on U.S. defense policy. An introductory chapter establishes the format for the succeeding essays, and the editors summarize the findings in a concise and useful final chapter. No camp will be wholly pleased by the conclusions reached, though on balance the advocates of arms control fare the worst. Arms-control talks have not slowed the arms race nor have they improved U.S.-Soviet relations, as liberal and antiwar activists had hoped. Nor have arms talks slowed the Soviet drive for military advantage, as Nixon and Kissinger expected at the time of SALT I. Though talks have been delayed or disrupted by events such as the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968 or the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, the normal pattern has been for talks to proceed without linkage to other fronts in the East-West struggle. Thus agreements have been made against the backdrop of fighting in Vietnam, Afghanistan, Central America, and elsewhere. The editors also find no evidence to support the idea that unilateral American restraint will be copied by the USSR. American restraint on ICBM numbers and the deployment of first-strike weapons, the dismantling of our ABM system, and politically mandated delays in the B-1 and ASAT programs have all been ignored as the Soviets pursue their own objectives. The Soviets do not build "bargaining chips," they build weapons systems.

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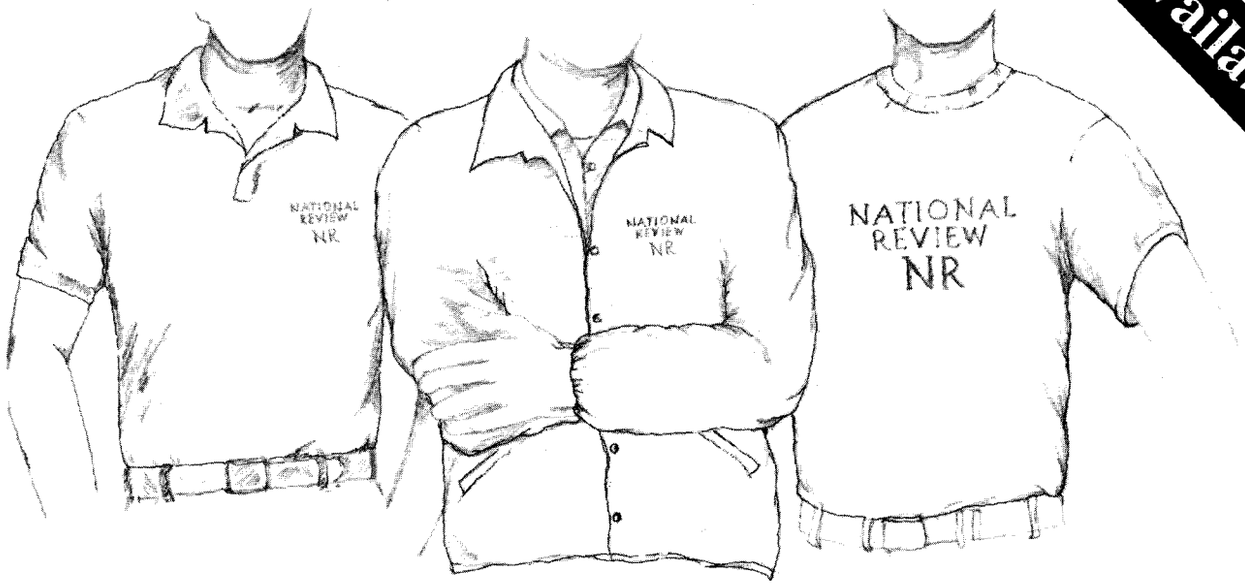

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ON & ON IT GOES

NEW YORK, JAN. 11

THE *New York Times*'s R. W. Apple captured nicely the general frustration when, about the decision to drop the toughest charges against Colonel North, he wrote, "It was perhaps the least satisfying outcome imaginable, lacking the catharsis of a courtroom battle, the melodrama of a presidential pardon, the put-it-behind-us finality of a decision not to indict in the first place."

Here, for the confused, are the confusing but discernible strands:

Many people urged President Reagan to pardon Colonel North. They were motivated to do this by one or more factors. a) They believed North should not be persecuted for doing what he did in the line of duty. b) They disapprove of judicial and legislative interference in an Executive relationship which, in order to function, requires a guarantee of immunity from the kind of public scrutiny it would receive in the courtroom. c) They do not believe President Reagan or President Bush should run the real risk of being summoned to a courtroom to be questioned by an aggressive prosecutor and North's defense lawyer, Sitting Bull, who would rather see the end of Western civilization than one of his clients spend one day in jail.

What then happened was that the grim special prosecutor, Lawrence E. Walsh, finally relented on the matter of what we will call Official Documents A, B, & C. He reluctantly admitted that without producing them in court, North could not receive a fair trial on the conspiracy counts, inasmuch as it could be argued that those documents motivated his behavior. Accordingly, Mr. Walsh announced that he would move to drop these counts against Colonel North et al. and satisfy himself with a dozen others, like shredding papers, lying to congressmen, that kind of thing.

Now it is widely thought that Mr. Walsh has satisfied himself that he can distinguish between Official Documents A, B, & C and Official Documents X, Y, & Z. These last, one infers from the activity of the prosecutor, either a) are not needed to effect North's defense; or b) if needed, can readily be produced by the Executive without hazard to the national security.

The assumption is entirely mistaken.

What will now happen is that North's lawyer, Mr. Brendan Sullivan, will ask not only for Documents X, Y, & Z but all over again for Documents A, B, & C. His reasoning will be that Colonel North's entire range of behavior was motivated by his belief that he was engaged in a presidential enterprise of vital interest to the United States and that only by consulting these documents can a jury understand the frame of mind in which he operated.

Now at this point, Prosecutor Walsh is likely to dig in his heels. And so is Judge Gerhard Gesell. A screenwriter would here intervene to note, "(Messrs. Walsh and Gesell are determined men)." So then let us suppose that Judge Gesell rules that Documents A, B, & C will be sheltered, but Documents X, Y, & Z will not be sheltered, orders a trial, and North is had up —and convicted.

He appeals. The Court of Appeals then examines Documents A, B, & C and rules that they do not have a direct enough bearing on the question of North's guilt or innocence and therefore he can proceed to go to jail. Or . . . the Court of Appeals can upset the verdict. This would put an end to the case.

And it would put an end to the case without the necessity of a presidential pardon. That would greatly please Messrs. Reagan and Bush, inasmuch as it is clear that they have come to believe that a forthright presidential pardon granted ahead of all these proceedings would give the impression that the pardoner was motivated by self-serving instincts. The other route is to whittle away at the documents subpoenaed, arguing their inadmissibility on national-security grounds. If there develops an impasse—if, let us say, the Executive rules that Documents X, Y, & Z are also highly sensitive and therefore not available to the court—then the Justice Department can throw up its hands in despair and announce that to go forward with the prosecution is now impossible.

Now here there are a few messy strands left, because the mandate of the special prosecutor is independent of that of the Justice Department. But what can the special prosecutor in fact do, if the Executive clings to its insistence that the necessary documents affect the national security, and the courts are unwilling to demand that they be submitted? In 1974 the Supreme Court ruled against Richard Nixon. But it is unlikely that the courts would overrule the Executive in a criminal proceeding involving men clearly motivated by an understanding that they were engaged in an act mandated by the Executive and involving the national interest. □

A GIZMO FOR THE PRESIDENT

NEW YORK, JAN. 6

THE FRENCH are in an uproar over their idiosyncratic spelling rules. The Old Guard, which is more powerful than any American Old Guard, is against changing the French of "Balzac and Proust," as some of them like to put it to drive their point home. But, reports Steven Greenhouse of the *New York Times*, a considerable constituency has built up that favors a change in the rules, and their justification is instrumental: Why take the time to learn that, in French, imbecile is spelled with a single *l* while imbecility is spelled with two *l*'s (*imbécillité*)? The National Association of Primary School Teachers asked its members whether substantial orthographic reforms should be instituted, and the result was the nearest thing to unanimity that has happened in France since Joan of Arc: 1,035 in favor, 107 against.

The Old Guard make the point that learning the traditional spelling ought not to be an imposition and indeed would not be an imposition if only the French student would spend less time watching television, and more time reading properly spelled books. The reformers, who are not to be confused with vulgarians, put it differently.

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There is, they remind us, every year, more and more to learn, and it is simply unreasonable to suppose that students learn the difference between the spelling of *rationnel* and *rationalité* save at the expense of learning something else, e.g., the difference between, oh, oxygen and nitrogen. The reformers have a point, in that scientists tell us that in every decade, knowledge doubles. It is a commonplace of intellectual history that Erasmus (1466-1536) was probably the last scholar who succeeded in reading everything then published and available in Europe. The explosion in knowledge began with the Enlightenment, picking up speed through the nineteenth century and truly blasting away with computer technology which, traveling from A to B, runs into A prime, A double prime, A triple prime—ad infinitum. Although one doubts the French 21-year-old exists whose breadth of knowledge is exactly limited by the number of hours spent away from his desk, it is true that if you spend, from age eight to 12, an hour a day studying peculiarities in French spelling, that is an hour a day you might have spent studying physics or music.

All of which reminds us, of course, that the Education President is soon to be inaugurated, and neither he nor the movement he is the titular leader of has come up with any revolutionary philosophy of learning, which leaves us exploring the possibility of gizmos, and I have been bursting for 25 years to publicize my idea of a useful gizmo designed to prevent children from spending most or even all of their time watching television.

My sunburst came when I discovered that my son, aged then about ten, had never read a book. People will smile—I know, I know—when they hear this, but remember, 50 per cent of Americans who have graduated from college do not read as much as one book per year. And bear in mind that while American students average three hours per week doing homework (not necessarily reading books, by the way: much homework is given over to drills of various kinds), their Japanese counterparts spend some thirty hours per week on homework. Since by all tests the Japanese exceed Americans in intellectual skills by the time they are twenty, one must suppose that they are doing something right, and that perhaps the French have a point when they stress the inutility of doing unuseful things, like prolonging the difference between imbecile and imbecillity. Immediately one's thought goes to: Great God in heaven, what if the Japanese were to discard the awful time-consuming burden of learning their ideographic language—if the French can complain about their idiosyncrasies, imagine what Japanese reformers could do to blast a language so primitive as not to depend on lettering!

Still, the Japanese do in fact study an extra 27 hours per week, and my idea is for some hardware company (Yale Lock and Key?) to develop a contrivance that Mother can attach to the television set which measures the time it is on; and after, say, one hour, the electricity is cut off, and Junior has to go off to do his homework. A special key would permit Mother and Father to override the mechanism to watch the set on their own. But meanwhile, they would have a Home Regulator to watch over Junior's habits.

One hopes the Education President will have no trouble with this modest contribution to the re-education of American imbeciles and the reduction of American imbecillity. □

RAISE THEIR PAY?

NEW YORK, DEC. 30

ON THE proposed raises for congressmen et al., a few observations:

1. It is hard to contend that if their salary was fair in 1969, the same salary is fair today. Inflation has eroded the old salary by 35 per cent. So that the argument from equity is on the side of the raise, even if you acknowledge the anomalies here and there (the President is scheduled to be increased from $200,000 to $350,000, a raise of 75 per cent, which exceeds the rate of inflation).

2. The whole question of inflation raises the question: Who was responsible for it? Inflation is caused only by an increase in the supply of dollars, and for this the Federal Reserve Bank is responsible; but that increase is prompted by a demand that is in excess of supply, and this can be caused by a Congress that authorizes excessive spending. There are those who oppose—they tend to do so tacitly, but here and there are explicit about it—pay raises to the very same people who create the reasons why pay raises are needed.

3. The idea of compensating for the pay raise for congressmen by forbidding them to earn fees ("honoraria") is a thought not only mischievous in its implications, but thoroughly deceptive. A crook is a crook is a crook. Unhappily, the democratic system pays no attention to massive crookery. Massive Crookery is defined here—just for example—as making a big speech to the effect that no old people receiving Social Security should be subjected to taxation on their benefits. That is what one might call Macrocosmic Crookery. Microcosmic Crookery is when you tell the Chairman of the Armed Services Committee that if he really thinks he can close down this obsolete military installation in Georgia, he had better think again about getting the military appropriations through. That kind of crookery uses up billions of dollars.

Petty Crookery, which is of the third kind, the new bill would seek to move in on. Congressman John Francis Bore is paid $10,000 to give a speech at a convention of insurance executives. Or, if a half-hour speech by him is more than even insurance executives can stand, perhaps they will pay him $10,000 not to give a speech: merely to attend the convention. It is assumed that when the relevant legislation comes up, Congressman Bore will vote the right way.

Well, curing Petty Crookery does nothing at all to help us with the kinds of crookery we should primarily be concerned with, which is special-interest voting. And special-interest voting is intensified by the need of congressmen to seek re-election. Former Congressman Otis Pike warned years ago that the prohibition against legislators' continuing to practice their professional skills—whether as lawyers or writers or whatever—intensified their need to stay in office. Staying in office becomes the difference between employment and non-employment, if other skills die of attrition. If we are really thinking of reform, the way to go is: Earn whatever you can doing whatever you can that is lawful while in Congress. And bear in mind that a constitutional amendment has just been passed limiting you to four terms.

4. It is a pity that so much public attention rests on the legislative branch. There are judges out there, as well as Executive officials. The latter, for the most part, can hang in for a year or two (average tenure at Cabinet level and sub-Cabinet level during the recent past: 18 months). Here we speak of men and women who are willing to give public service a fling of sorts. They are prepared (take, for instance, Robert Mosbacher, Commerce Secretary-designate, who on top of giving up his income, is deprived even of the use of his private jet!) to make sacrifices. Well, theirs is an adventure of sorts, and often is highly motivated.

IT TENDS TO BE different for the judiciary. They are not in there, as a rule, for the short haul. The readjustments from private practice are organic. And, for the judges, there is never any business of a nice stipend for a public appearance: practically everything a federal judge does is unlawful, with the exception of voting to repeal the Constitution. These ladies and gentlemen are leaving the judiciary, many of them, because they have to opt between continuing as judges, or sending their children through college (and law school).

Whatever Congress ends up doing, a division should be made between raises for legislators and for the judiciary. But it is best to let them receive their salary increases. Contempt for government officials should be expressed in rhetoric, not in pay reductions. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

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C. Ludicrous — LAUGHABLE (111 119 193 21 57 147 90 183 40)

D. A place to wash and dry — LAUNDROMAT (131 97 115 198 39 23 55 176 137 2)

E. Just begun — INCHOATE (51 143 18 95 182 80 132 63)

F. Writer's favorite vessel? — AUTHORSHIP (53 140 7 135 187 91 101 164 184 189)

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H. Sweet-sounding mountain — SUGARLOAF (128 59 163 73 151 44 174 30 15)

I. Military state of readiness — ACTIVATION (22 117 102 162 106 67 32 1 197 79)

J. Immediately — FORTHWITH (173 29 152 120 167 75 48 141 87)

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L. Install new gear on an old ship — RETROFIT (158 107 96 175 122 25 13 54)

M. Cabinet-level department — EDUCATION (161 112 130 179 34 86 61 16 127)

N. Siouan language — TETON (66 154 28 100 169)

O. Catchers sit on these — HAUNCHES (146 26 93 116 149 129 38 77)

P. Relishes — ENJOYS (159 171 181 92 172 49)

Q. Lads and lasses — YOUNGSTERS (12 177 103 5 186 52 165 144 188 35)

R. Christian denomination — BAPTIST (139 43 125 71 196 109 27)

S. Top aide to Gorbachev? (2 words) — LEFTHAND (98 9 178 36 3 76 123 64)

T. One of the Ionian Islands — ITHACA (19 145 72 110 31 180)

U. Ticket-holders who stay home (hyph.) — NOSHOWS (104 84 195 37 126 160 65)

V. Tied — KNOTTED (6 85 45 166 62 190 138)

W. Kind of kitchen (hyph.) — EATIN (113 88 148 83 14)

X. CBS talking head (full name) — DANRATHER (155 170 41 108 78 56 8 136 17)

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DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition. **See page 68 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.**

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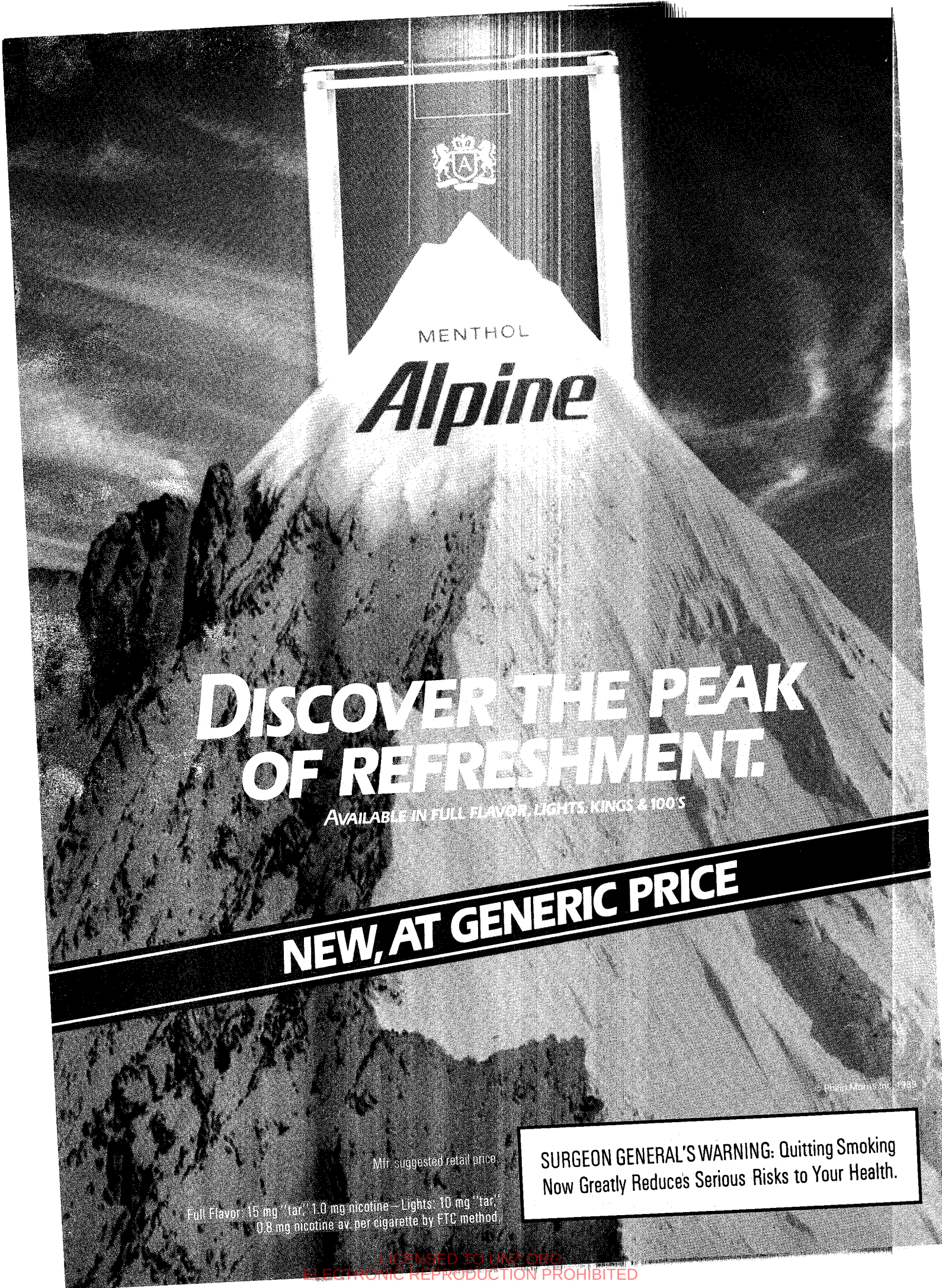
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